

## BORN AGAIN II



*David Moberg reports on Carter's  
energy ripoff.  
John Judis on the  
coming recession.*



## Triumph in Nicaragua

*David Helvarg  
reports on the  
taking of Managua*



# THE INSIDE STORY



Bella Abzug addressing the National Women's Political Caucus convention.

## NWPC will work to elect feminists

By Jo Freeman

CINCINNATI

"It's a shame we're still talking about the ERA," Gloria Steinem told the biennial convention of the National Women's Political Caucus meeting in Cincinnati July 13-15. "Sometimes I think it's a plot to keep us from talking about anything else." Tension between the desire to move on to other issues and the realization that ratification requires that their energies focus on the ERA marked the three-day meeting attended by 2,000 people.

Because "the ERA is being held up by 16 or 17 white males who are blocking it in the state legislatures," the NWPC devoted two-thirds of its income to ERA projects in 1978. Despite campaigns in seven states to elect pro-ERA legislators, NWPC's ERA ratification committee chair, Miriam Dorsey, feels "we won't see any legislative action before 1981; we need more elections first."

Campaign efforts in 1979 will be focused on Virginia—where the amendment has still to be voted out of committee, and those of 1980 in Florida, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Missouri and Illinois. Two of these states are within two votes of ratification.

Dorsey felt there were two major gains from the campaign support efforts of the last couple years. First, she said, is that "Now candidates are coming to us. They're no longer afraid of the ERA label." The second is that "we've lost some of our idealism." She cited numerous examples of candidates who had less political know-how than the ERA advisors. "We've learned that technical assistance is as important as money, because many candidates don't know how to use it properly. Now we give money with strings attached, specifying how it will be used."

While concerned that not enough state legislators had been changed to obtain ERA ratification (and a couple had accepted ERA money only to vote against it), many speakers proudly touted the increase in the number of women elected and appointed officials. Women are now 10.2 percent of all state legislators—an increase of 50 percent since the women's movement began.

Many others hold local offices. As outgoing national chair Millie Jeffrey stated, "We'll see quantum leaps in

the '80s because we have a pool of good women coming up through the ranks."

### Electing women is not enough!

Steinem, however, said that just electing women is not enough. "We are not an employment agency, but it's time we asked them what are they doing for other women." Steinem speculated that if "we had called ourselves 'the National Feminists Political Caucus' we wouldn't have had to spend the last seven years explaining why we won't support just any woman."

An example of this withholding was given by Oklahoma legislator, Cleta Deatheridge, when she told the group that the NWPC put \$32,000 into a campaign to elect a pro-ERA man by removing the only woman in the Oklahoma State Senate. The woman was not only an opponent of the ERA, but a member of the John Birch Society. The successful campaign was literally run out of the ERA office as the male candidate was told his job was to meet voters, not run the campaign.

While 90 percent of the women newly elected to the state legislatures are Republicans, many have made a priority of women's issues that liberal male legislators have ignored. Oregon's Secretary of State, Norma Paulus, told the convention that "We've almost eradicated sex discrimination from our statutes, and, while we couldn't legalize prostitution, we did make it equally illegal to buy sex." She said this was done by learning "how to play hardball politics. We decided to withhold our support from other issues until ours were dealt with."

Another example of women working together was given by Lynda Johnson Robb, who was appointed chair of the President's Advisory Committee on Women after Bella Abzug was fired by Carter. She said she called the White House to let them know that women's groups were underrepresented at the recent Camp David summit. Consequently a member of her committee, Unita Blackwell, mayor of Mayersville, Miss., was invited—though no leaders of any national women's groups were. Robb said her committee has urged the President to hold a summit on ERA ratification to make it clear that it is a national priority.

Speaking for the Carter Administration was Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Patricia Harris. She praised Carter for having placed women in 21 percent of the administration's jobs. "Women are now visible in more top federal government positions than in any other time in the history of American government," she declared. She said she is certain that this makes a difference in "our policy and program development"—at least in HUD, where half of the appointed positions are held by women. As one example, she stated that HUD has become "increasingly sensitive to the fact that housing is a 'woman's issue' (because) the overwhelming majority of HUD's constituency in the public housing and housing assistance programs are women."

She also cited funding for approximately 20 battered women's shelters, which are now eligible for community development block grant funds as a result of the efforts of HUD's Women's Policy and Program Office, along with a project to help women become homeowners.

While Harris was looking forward to the day "when no one can appoint the first woman anything," other conventioners were trying to help a consumer's boycott of stores that sell J.P. Stevens products. This textile company—most of whose employees are women—has been one of the most obdurate opponents of unions.

About 50 people marched from the convention hall to Shillito's, a branch of Federal Department Stores, which is the focus of the consumer boycott. Although three directors met with the group, they reiterated their policy of resisting the boycott. Afterwards, Millie Jeffrey, once a textile workers organizer herself, said "The

NWPC was proud to have a small part in the boycott." Both she and Olga Madar, former president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, stressed the need for women's and labor groups to support each other.

Labor's support of women's issues was praised by Madar in a luncheon speech when she declared that all major unions have endorsed the ERA, and are participating in the boycott of unratified states. Since organized labor opposed the ERA before 1970, this represents a major change in response to pressure from women unionists. Madar also blasted the NAACP for holding its national meeting in Florida. Madar and other members of the labor caucus of the NWPC voted almost unanimously to endorse Jeffrey for re-election as national chair because "She's one of us." But their support was not sufficient. Jeffrey lost 197 to 217 to Iris Mitgang, a lawyer from California and a vice-chair of NWPC. Most delegates, including many of Mitgang's supporters were surprised at her upset victory, and had no ready explanation for it. Some attributed it to a West Coast revolt against East Coast rule, others said Jeffrey had neglected to maintain her ties to the grassroots.

### California had 20 percent of the delegates.

A look at the vote tallies by state demystifies the election results. NWPC delegate strength does not reflect the distribution of the country's population—even its politically active feminist population. The large East Coast states did not have large delegations. California alone—Mitgang's home state—had 20 percent of the delegates. Jeffrey's largest block of support came from Texas.

Politically active feminists will have to count their votes better at their next big meetings—the Democratic and Republican national conventions. Democratic party rules, passed at last December's mini-convention, mandate that half of all delegates be women. The Republican party rules urge, but do not require, equal division. Nonetheless, GOP feminists hope to increase female representation over the 31 percent they had in 1976.

Electing feminists to these conventions will be a major project of the NWPC for the next year, and the convention spent an evening in separate Democratic and Republican caucuses figuring out how to do it.

Cong. Barbara Mikulski (D. MD.) was scheduled to address the Democratic task force caucus but her plane couldn't land in time, due to storm eddies from hurricane Bob (the first hurricane to be given a male name.)

After Dee Clancy, of Illinois, read Mikulski's speech, stating that "Women's issues will not become a national issue until more women make national decisions," Bella Abzug was drafted to the keynote position. She urged the group to think beyond the elections.

"Women should demand their right to be represented equally in all elected offices." Later, when she keynoted the entire convention, Abzug called upon the NWPC to "use our numbers to form a powerful independent political block." She anticipated that feminists would have 500 of the 3,000 delegates at the Democratic Convention and urged feminists "to get in there early and stake our claim."

She told the convention not to back any presidential candidate at this time, and to think seriously about supporting a "favorite daughter" candidate, if there should be one. Abzug's speech received a 10-minute standing ovation from the crowd.

Despite the emphasis on delegate selection and electoral politics, not all attending the NWPC convention were overly enamored with the parties. Republican Norma Paulus urged them to "forget about party lines—Republicans, Democrats, Liberals or even Libertines—and support men and women who support us." Other speakers noted "that the parties are disintegrating as women are getting a toehold in them," and "they never helped women anyway." ■

## IN THESE TIMES

(USPS 352-310)

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 48 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, the last week of July, the first week of August and the last week of December by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices: 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor (editorials), Florence Hamlish Levinsohn, Managing Editor, John Judis, Political Editor, Patricia Aufderheide, Cultural Editor, David Moberg, National Affairs Editor, Mark Naison, Sports, Wilfred Burchett (Asia & Africa), Diana Johnstone (Paris), David Mandel (Jerusalem), Chris Mullin (London), Bruce Vandervort (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents, Laura Cianci, Joshua Kornbluth, Editorial Assistants, Steve Rosswurm, Librarian, Ken Rattner, Proofreader.

### BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Jan Czarnik, General Manager, Pat Vander Meer, Circulation, Bob Nicklas, Advertising/Promotion, Bill Rehm, Office, Bill Burr, Steve Rosswurm, Special Projects.

### ART

Tom Greensfelder, Director, Jessie Bunn, Associate Director, Dolores Wilber, Assistant Director, Jim Rinnert, Ann Barnds, Composition, Pamela Rice, Camera, Ken Firestone, Photographer.

### BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404)881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212)865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617)738-9707. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714)225-1128. DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303)333-9554.

### SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright 1979 by Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All editorial, advertising and business correspondence should be sent to: IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153. Subscriptions are \$19.00 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$32.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 36) published July 30, 1979 for newsstand sales July 30-August 8.



## IN THESE TIMES

# Carter premieres a midsummer night's schemes

By David Moberg

**D**ESPERRATE FOR A POLITICAL gesture that would save his faltering administration and would give the appearance of bold action in response to rising gas prices and the recent shortages, Jimmy Carter has come up with a plan that is more likely to deepen the energy, environmental and economic crisis that threatens the country.

Rather than accelerate the transition to a renewable solar economy, Carter has chosen to perpetuate dependence on non-renewable resources.

Rather than work to stabilize energy prices, Carter has chosen to lock the country into a course toward higher and higher prices.

Rather than emphasizing greater efficiency and appropriateness in the use of energy, Carter has chosen to emphasize increasing supplies, while cutting imports of oil.

Rather than devise a solution to our energy problems that would preserve or improve the nation's health and safety—and general environment—Carter has proposed to override environmental considerations, continuing dependence on nuclear power and creating a new synthetic fuels industry fraught with dangers for the environment and the health of workers.

Carter's plan did not placate the rising chorus from the oil industry, major manufacturing corporations and conservative economists for complete withdrawal of government responsibility and control as a solution to energy problems. He continues to proceed a bit slower than they want in deregulation of energy prices, for example.

Instead Carter chose a course favored by business leaders who want the government to play a more active role as hand-maiden to the energy industry. The centerpiece of the recent Carter proposal, the \$88 billion Energy Security Corporation, is quite similar to former Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller's proposal for a \$100 billion Energy Independence Authority. It could be headed by R.D. Rohatyn, an investment banker and former head of New York City's Municipal Assistance Corporation who has repeatedly urged massive state involvement in securing capitalist investment. It was applauded by Miller's economic planner, Albert Speer.

Despite differences with most major capitalists about the role of the government, the Carter administration has firmly committed itself to a course of action that would enhance the power and profit of the big oil companies and world—at a great price—attempts to preserve the basic oil, coal, gas and nuclear structure of the energy economy.

## A new fat pork barrel.

The heart of Carter's program—theoretically saving 2.5 million barrels of the 4.5 million barrels a day import reduction that the plan promises for 1990—is the "independent, government-sponsored enterprise" called the Energy Security Corporation. Spending its \$88 billion over 12 years to develop cost liquids and coal gases (estimated at 1 to 1.5 million barrels a day by 1990), oil shale (100,000 barrels a day), "unconventional" gas from more difficult natural sources (500,000 to 1 million barrels a day), and biomass (300,000 barrels a day), the Corporation could use its capital in a variety of ways to speed production. It could guarantee prices, make federal purchase agreements, offer loans, guarantee loans and own plants that are operated by the private sector or by other companies (al-

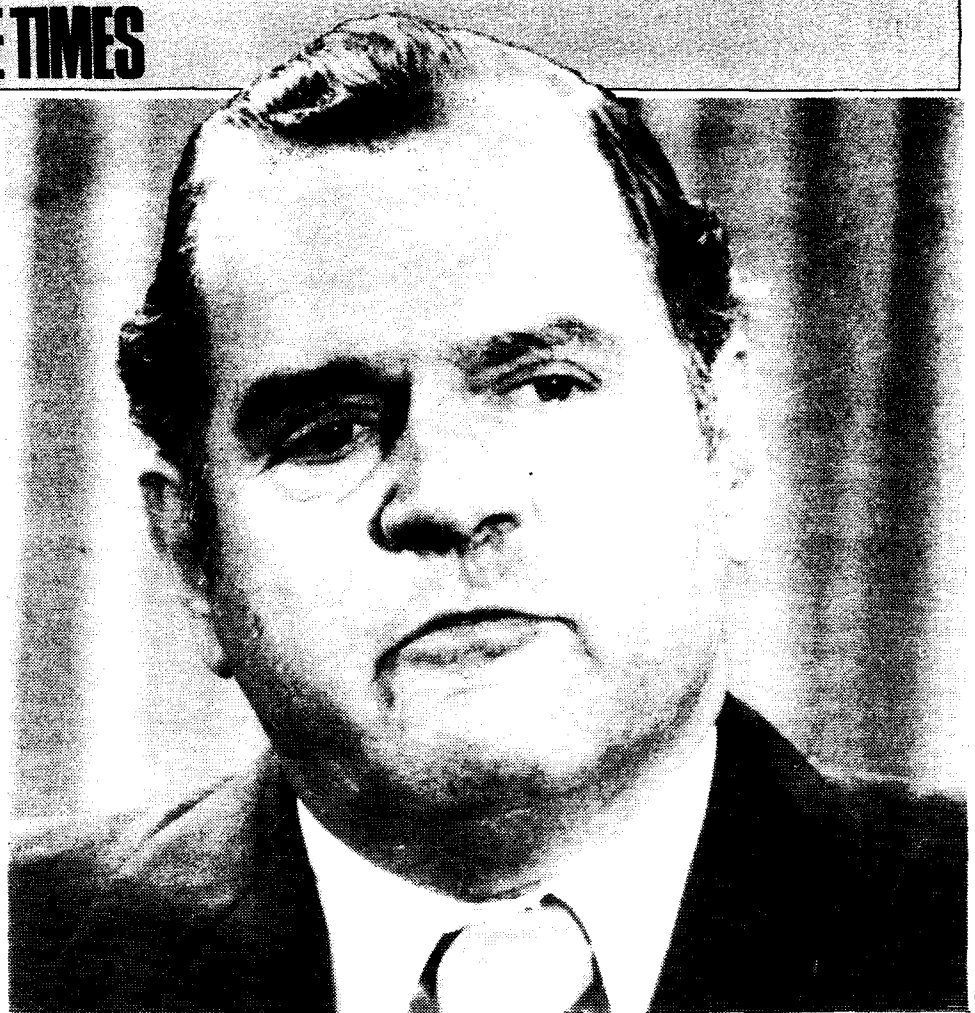
though it could not enter joint ventures).

All but \$5 billion of the money—that portion is supposed to come from energy bond purchases by already sorely pinched people such as those who now buy low-interest government savings bonds—will come from a windfall profits tax on oil company revenue from the decontrol of oil. Although it appears to be a tough tax on the oil corporations, the windfall profits tax can be equally and perhaps more validly seen as a new and regressive tax imposed on the whole population through two steps: decontrol of prices, followed by the windfall profits tax.

The Energy Security Corporation, removed not only from the government "bureaucracy" as it exists but also from any popular, democratic control, would be able to move rapidly to make or encourage the investments to create a synthetic fuel industry.

In another roughshod assertion of executive power in the interest of the oil industries, the President also proposed in his July 15 address to the nation an Energy Mobilization Board that would have authority to "waive procedural requirements of federal, state or local laws in order to expedite the development and construction of a critical energy facility." It could also waive application of any legislation passed after construction of a facility began.

Legislation along these lines currently sponsored by Rep. John Dingell (D.-MI.) would permit substantive as well as procedural changes in environmental regula-



New Secretary of Energy, Charles W. Duncan, Jr.

tions to speed non-nuclear energy projects.

Since the synthetic fuels plants are likely to be environmentally quite harmful, especially in the shale oil regions of the West, the Energy Mobilization Board is a serious concern to environmentalists. The synthetic fuel plants would create a serious drain on water supplies in arid regions. Carcinogenic products from the plants would endanger workers and nearby communities, and huge quantities of carbon dioxide could alter the earth's climate.

It is clear that synthetics are expensive—ranging from low estimates for some of \$20-22 a barrel on up to \$45 or more a barrel, with the price likely to rise quickly. (See *ITT*, July 11, 1979, for an analysis of synfuel shortcomings.) But nobody has any idea whether the plants could be

built on such a massive scale as Carter proposes. The only commercially operating synthetic oil plant (in South Africa) turns out only 20,000 barrels a day. A crash program would create bottlenecks, drive up prices and prematurely lock in early technologies. Most experts doubt that the plan could succeed and many within the Carter administration argued for lower goals.

Carter also proposes other production incentives. To develop the "heavy" (thick) oil deposits in California, he proposes immediate decontrol of prices and exemption from the windfall profits tax. For natural gas in tight sands, Devonian shales, coal seams and geopressurized beds of the Gulf of Mexico, he proposes a

*Continued on page 5.*

## Volcker's appointment sets stage for battle over recession policy

By John Judis

**A**S THE 1980 ELECTIONS NEAR, Pres. Jimmy Carter is being forced to heed the American voter, whose support or rejection is measured weekly in opinion polls. But he also has to listen to another constituency, the relatively small group of international bankers, multinational executives, oil potentates, and finance ministers, whose decisions deeply affect American economic prospects. Their support or rejection is immediately registered in the rise or fall of the dollar.

During July, both constituencies had a dramatic influence on Carter. Carter sequestered himself in Camp David to develop an energy strategy that would accord with the decisions at the Tokyo economic summit and that would reverse his falling fortunes in the polls. But he discovered that the same measures that pleased the voters did not please the international bankers.

His July 15 speech to the American people, which portrayed the energy crisis as part of a larger "crisis of confidence" and which presented no program that would take effect before 1981, temporarily increased his standing in the opinion polls, but aroused contempt among international bankers. The bankers saw Carter's speech as purely "political." They were highly critical of his omission of any short-term measures—particularly nuclear power and gasoline price decontrol—that might stem American oil imports. "He was chicken on nuclear power, and reliance on solar power is daft," commented Frank T. Blackaby, deputy director of Britain's National Institute of

Economic and Social Research.

The bankers were even more appalled by the dismissal of Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal, the appointment of Federal Reserve head G. William Miller as his replacement, and the elevation of Hamilton Jordan to Carter's Chief of Staff. They saw these appointments as indications that Carter would compromise international capitalist objectives in his pursuit of popular political favor.

The bankers' dissatisfaction was registered in the dramatic fall of the dollar. On July 18, the cost of an ounce of gold surpassed \$300 for the first time. (Until 1971, the price of gold had been set at \$35 an ounce.) OPEC oil ministers also began to threaten that they would abandon the dollar as their medium of exchange.

Carter and Miller both had to respond quickly. In his last act as Federal Reserve head, Miller announced a rise in the discount rate at which banks borrow money from the Fed. And Carter settled on conservative Paul A. Volcker as Miller's successor.

By appointing Volcker, Carter has in effect placed the international bankers in a position of power within his administration and set up a future power struggle between them and a beleaguered American populace.

### The dollar's importance.

Short of withdrawing from the world capitalist system, Carter cannot ignore the decline of the dollar.

As the dollar declines in value, it sets off an inflationary spiral within the U.S. The price of imports—both finished goods and raw materials—goes up, which encourages domestic firms to raise their prices; and the resulting inflation further weakens the dollar. In his final report,

Miller estimated that the dollar's decline had added 1 percent to American inflation in 1978.

•OPEC uses dollars as its official currency. As the dollar loses value, the exchange value of OPEC oil declines, but not its American price. If OPEC decided to retaliate by pegging its oil prices to a basket of foreign currencies, then oil prices would rise automatically as the dollar declined in value.

•The American military and American firms that do business overseas suffer increased costs as the dollar declines in value.

•European bankers hold some \$450 billion in "Eurodollars." If they were to attempt to cash in most or all of these in the face of their declining value, they would precipitate a world economic collapse that would make the 1930s depression look like a boom.

### The left vs. the right.

Governments usually respond to currency crises by inducing slower growth or recessions. The resulting drop in domestic demand lessens the demand for imports and encourages domestic producers to export their goods. Inflation is tempered, the country's balance of trade improves, and its currency's standing is strengthened.

After the Oct. 1978 announcement of voluntary wage-price standards failed to stem the dollar's decline, Carter and Miller did adopt what Miller described as a "planned slowdown." On Nov. 1, they announced a sharp increase in interest rates and a commitment to cutting federal expenditures. Their actions did temporarily halt the dollar's decline, but by this spring, the dollar had begun to fall again.

The increase in interest rates and the estab-



## IN SHORT

## NATION

**NORML**  
*sues to end  
paraquat use*

WASHINGTON—The National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML) filed suit last week in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. to cut off all U.S. assistance to the paraquat spraying program in Mexico.

The spraying program creates a number of environmental and health hazards, according to the suit, including a serious health threat to thousands of people who use marijuana in the U.S.

The suit cites three reasons why U.S. assistance must be cut off: the Percy Amendment to the International Security Assistance Act of 1978 that forbids further U.S. assistance to the program, the Environmental Impact Statement prepared by the State Department and the proposition that the addition of paraquat to marijuana consumed by persons in the U.S. constitutes cruel and unusual punishment, forbidden by the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The principal danger from paraquat is severe lung damage called fibrosis.

In 1978, the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., found the government in violation of the law for failing to properly assess the health and environmental consequences of the spraying program. As a result of that decision, the government agencies involved in the paraquat program were forced to assess the environmental impact of actions they take in foreign countries and file a report.

NORML's National Director Larry A. Schott called upon the Carter Administration to "comply with the Percy Amendment and stop all U.S. support of the spraying program. The government now has more than enough evidence about the serious effects of this program on people and the environment."

**Women's studies**  
*cheated by  
foundations*

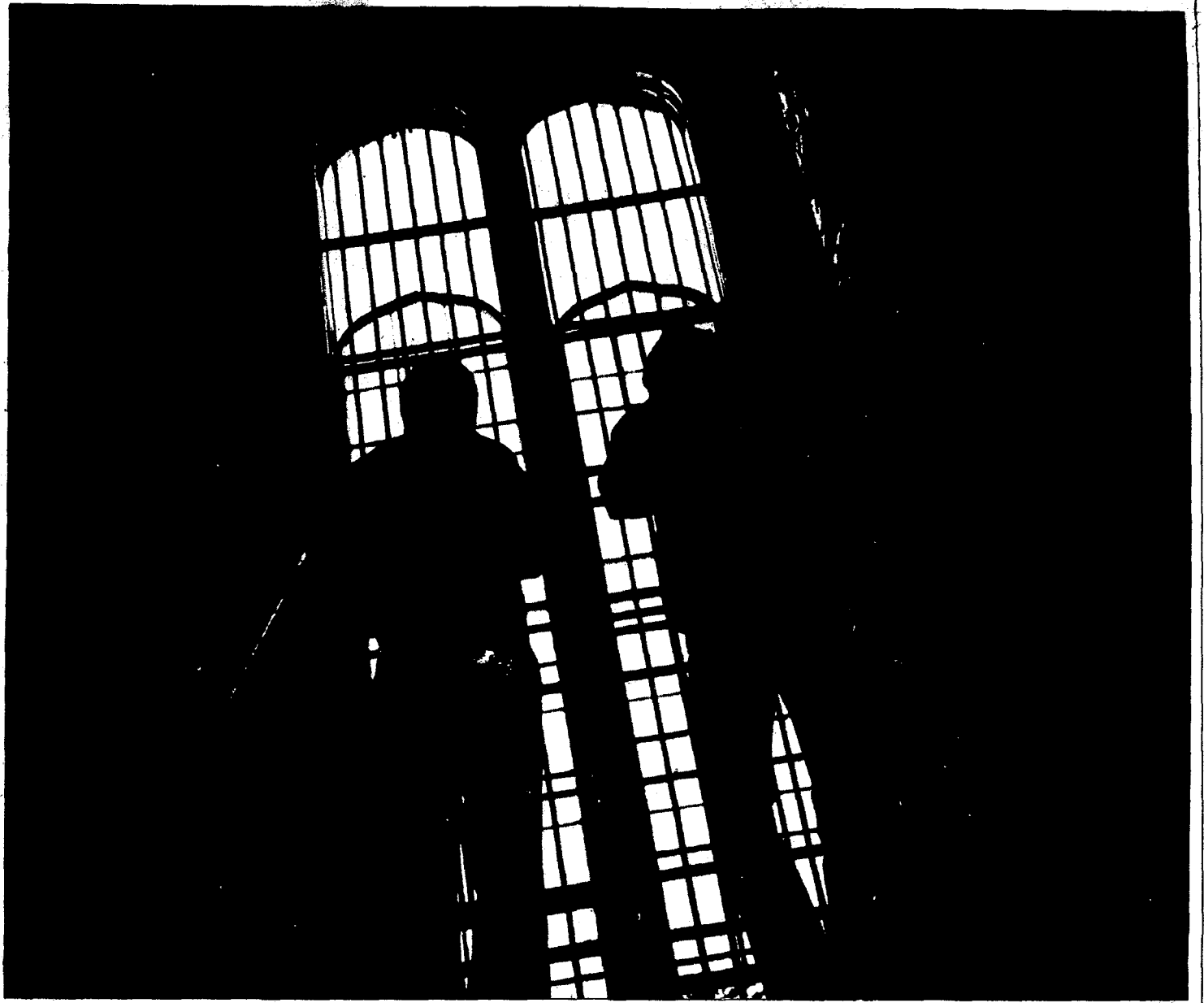
NEW YORK—Less than one percent of private foundation funding goes to women's projects according to a study conducted by Good Measure, Inc., a research organization.

Although the study found that there was a sevenfold increase between 1971-1976 in foundation support for programs designed to help eliminate discrimination and to further opportunities for women, the total was miniscule.

Esther Schackster, who supervised the Ford Foundation supported study, said a major reason that women's groups receive so little from foundations is because "women's programs touch economic, political and social issues that challenge many accepted public policy and traditional life styles. Most men who run foundations are subjects to the constraints of traditional perceptions of women's roles."

Another problem unearthed by the study concerns the purpose for which foundation grants are to be used by women's groups. Although 250 representatives of women's organizations emphasized the importance of institutional change, only 13 percent of the grants support "public activist programs" while the balance of the funds were intended to create change in individuals.

The Ford Foundation Study is the first comprehensive summary and analysis of private foundation and government funding for women's rights and opportunities.

**Peruvians mistreat U.S. prisoners**

LOS ANGELES—Peru Watch, a coalition of relatives of American prisoners in Peru, is calling for a congressional investigation of the uses and effects of American drug enforcement funds to Peru. Drug enforcement agents reportedly are assisting in the arrest of American citizens in Lima. At least one incident of an American drug enforcement agent being involved in the interrogation process of an American citizen has been documented, according to Norman Liberman, a representative of Peru Watch.

Kenneth Liberman, Secretary of Peru Watch, said that reports are common of brutal treatment of American prisoners who are being held on drug-related charges.

One prisoner allegedly was given electroshock treatment after his arrest on June 23, 1978, in order to secure a "confession." Relatives visiting American prisoners have reported that clubbings by prison guards are routine. "I personally witnessed prisoners (through a window) being beaten severely," said Liberman.

Liberman charges that many Americans have been arrested on false charges in order to present the appearance of proper use of the U.S. drug enforcement funds.

Americans facing trial have difficulty finding honest legal counsel. Lurigancho Center for Social Rehabilitation in Lima where American prisoners are held is surrounded by dishonest attorneys who arrange bribes that are unsuccessful after large payments have been made, according to Liberman. A wait of 24 months for trial is not unusual.

## WORLD

**Radioactive stash  
found in Japan**

KAMAKURA—Japanese police were shocked last week to discover 450 kilograms (about 1,000 pounds) of radioactive thorium oxide stashed away in old cans and plastic bags in an unoccupied apartment near Kamakura, outside of Tokyo. They are still searching for nearly 400 kilos that are unaccounted for.

Police were called by the manager of the building because the renter of one apartment had not paid his rent for over a year. Upon entering the apartment, police found several large cans, one filled with a suspicious-looking white powder which was also scattered on the floor.

Investigators with geiger counters measured up to 200 counts per second, and determined that the powder was thorium oxide.

The renter of the apartment, Asahina Jiro, 46, was arrested for possession of nuclear materials without a license.

Asahina told police that he purchased 850 kilos of thorium oxide several years ago from the now defunct Sun Atom Co. of Tokyo, formerly a manufacturer of health appliances. He reported that he used about seven kilograms in creating a device to change ordinary tap water in-

to "radium spring water," which he planned to market as a health aid. However, he would not disclose the whereabouts of the remaining 400 kilos, claiming he needed them to continue his work.

Police estimated that persons in close proximity to the stash of thorium oxide received radiation doses equivalent to about 3 chest x-rays per day.

Thorium emits alpha particles and decays into radium. Japanese authorities minimized the danger to neighbors, because alpha particles travel only very short distances and are stopped by very thin shielding.

Although Japanese law already stipulates strict licensing procedures for the purchase and storage of radioactive materials, Mayor Mishima Torayoshi of Zushi City, where most of the thorium oxide was found, urged the central government to impose even stricter controls. He also urged Asahina's neighbors to get a health check-up.

—David Fleishman

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci unless otherwise indicated.

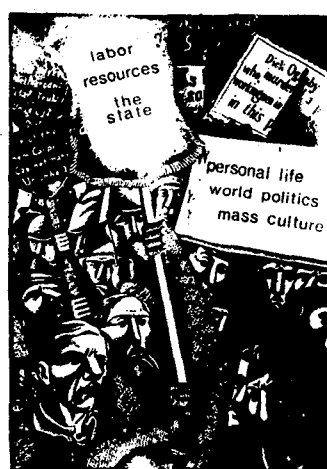
**ORGANIZING  
FOR THE 80'S**

7th Annual

**Western Socialist Social Science  
Conference**

Nevada City, California

October 5-8, 1979



many workshops -- cultural events -- political study and discussion -- relaxation and exercise -- making friends -- building solidarity -- special emphasis on: labor, resources, the state, personal life, mass culture, world politics, in the 80's

workshop proposals invited

For information write to  
UMSS P.O. BOX 5358 BERKELEY CA 94705



# IN THE NATION

## MONOPOLY

# Coalition fights U.S. Steel wondermill

By Eric Leif Davis

HOMESTEAD, PA.

**I**N JULY, 1892, THE BLOODIEST LABOR battle in the American steel industry's history occurred in Homestead, Pa., when striking steelworkers defeated Andrew Carnegie's army of Pinkertons after an all-day gun battle.

On July 19, 1979, yet one more battle between the steelworkers and the steel industry was launched in Homestead. This time the steel workers are not alone. Meeting in the union hall of Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works, a unique alliance of steelworkers, environmentalists, community organizations, and religious groups announced they were filing suit that day in the Federal District Court of Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh) against the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers asking the court to rescind the permits approved by the Corps for the construction by U.S. Steel of the largest steel mill in the world. Other named defendants include the Secretary of the Army, the District Engineer of the Corps' Buffalo District, the Ohio Environmental Protection Agency and the Ohio EPA Director.

The suit specifies inadequate standards set for air and water quality, and alleges that massive job loss in the Youngstown Pittsburgh area will result from the giant new mill.

The proposed steel mill, at Conneaut, Ohio, on Lake Erie, is projected to be one of the most modern facilities in the world, producing 1 1/2 million tons of steel plate per year from its up-to-date electric furnaces. Workers in Homestead, the present site of major steel plate production in the area, fear that construction of the Conneaut mill is merely the first step in closing down the out-dated open hearth furnaces in their own plants.

A spokesperson for U.S. Steel, headquartered in Pittsburgh, claimed there is "no connection" between Conneaut and other steel mills in the area. Conneaut, it was claimed, is being built to meet the industrial needs of the 1980s and will create 12,000 new jobs. The possible closing of other mills, the spokesperson said, "is a separate question entirely."



Rev. John Collins, Edward Mann, and Staughton Lynd (left to right) are members of the coalition opposing the new U.S. Steel plant.

## Steelworkers charge the new plant will poison Lake Erie, but they are also worried that U.S. Steel will close old plants when the new one is built.

However, Ron Weisen, President of Homestead Local 1397, disagreed. Weisen stated that two blast furnaces at Homestead will be shut down and that the entire industrial corridor from Youngstown through the West Virginia panhandle, into the steel towns of Western Pennsylvania was threatened. "We don't want those 12,000 jobs at Conneaut," he said, "if it means we'll lose three times as many here."

John Barbera, a member of the Jones

and Laughlin Briar Hill local in Youngstown, agreed. Barbera said that Briar Hill, sister plant to the defunct Campbell works, will close in six months. "The fight is over in Youngstown," he said. "And the fate of Youngstown will be the fate of every plant in this area if Conneaut goes through."

"Our antiquated mills just can't compete with modern furnaces, which are twice as fast. It's like comparing a regular kitchen oven with a microwave oven."

Youngstown labor lawyer Staughton Lynd, one of five attorneys representing the plaintiffs in the suit, said that the investment in the new Conneaut plant could have been committed to modernizing the present plants at much lower cost.

"Homestead, Clairton, Youngstown, and other steel communities can only survive if they are invested in," Lynd continued. "But this isn't being done. U.S. Steel is building Conneaut instead. If Conneaut is built, there is no doubt Homestead will die."

"The time is past when families should be torn up to run after industry. There's value in three generations living in one place."

"It's time we said to the companies that if they don't start making these investment decisions for the benefit of all, maybe we'll start making the decision for them."

Opposition to Conneaut also comes from environmentalists concerned with the impact of the plant upon the dying waters of Lake Erie and upon the surrounding grape cropland. The Environmental Impact Study states that the Conneaut plant will release unacceptable amounts of cyanide and ammonia into the polluted waters. But they also claim that the Environmental Impact Study probably minimized the dangers of the plant because U.S. Steel itself was the collector of all environmental data. Furthermore, the evaluation of the data submitted by U.S. Steel was made by a technical team that included representatives of both U.S. Steel and its consultant, Arthur D. Little. The applicant was, they say, permitted to judge its own application.

The most impressive part of the suit, according to Lynd, is the list of plaintiffs. They include such environmental organizations as the Lake Erie Alliance for the Protection of the Coastal Corridor and the Down Wind Neighbors from Erie, Pa.; two unemployed steel workers from the J&L Campbell works in Youngstown (one a member of Steel Workers United for Employment); three steel worker locals: Local 1330 of Youngstown's Ohio Works, Local 1462 of Youngstown's Briar Hill works, and Local 1397 of Homestead; The Concerned Citizens of Conneaut, a community organization and the Tri-State Conference on the Impact of Steel, a religious group.

"To my knowledge," he said, "this is the only coalition of its kind, ever." ■

## Carter ploy

Continued from page 3.

special incentive price and a tax credit. This gas could be valuable as part of a solar transition, but as Barry Commoner has argued, Carter does not intend to use it that way.

The conservation measures Carter proposed are largely warmed over and inadequate and they are often misguided. Utilities will be required to cut oil use by 50 percent by 1990, but rather than emphasize burning what is expected to be a surplus of natural gas, as environmentalists suggest, Carter urges conversion to coal and nuclear power. Through government-subsidized loans and long-term financing of conservation through utilities, residential and commercial conservation would be encouraged.

The windfall profits tax theoretically will also finance in the 1980s \$16.5 billion in improvements of existing mass transit systems and research on automobile efficiency—a minimal step in one of the areas most open to immediate improvement of energy efficiency.

All these measures presumably would make it possible for Carter to pledge to hold down imports and yet avoid creating artificial shortages. His goal for 1979—

8.2 million barrels a day of imported oil—would likely be achieved even without his pledge.

Carter at least acknowledged that this \$142.2 billion program will hit low-income people hardest, since he renewed his proposal for an Energy Security Trust Fund of \$2.4 billion annually "when fully effective" to provide cash assistance to the needy. However, the Fuel Oil Marketing Advisory Committee recommended this spring—before decontrol of oil started and before the recent round of price increases—that a subsidy program of \$3.2 billion a year would be necessary to relieve hardships already perpetrated on poor families.

### Congress probably won't buy Carter's plan.

Even a little scrutiny of Carter's plan should lead to difficulties in Congress. Easing of the gas lines and the development of the beginnings of an oil surplus (with some producers talking of production cutbacks to sustain price levels) might lessen the sense of panic that is needed to push through such a massive, misguided program expeditiously.

However, the recent announcement of oil company profit increases for this past quarter over last year (20 percent at Exxon, 37.9 percent at Mobil, 60.9 percent at Standard of California, 54.7 percent

at Shell, 44 percent at Phillips, 105 percent at Texaco and 809 percent at Ashland) may encourage legislators to enact a moderately reasonable windfall profits tax, even if they unreasonably refuse to reinstate controls. Although Carter finally is winning standby authority for gasoline rationing, the continuing difficulties with even that legislation bodes ill for his success in passing all of his current program. Without a persuasive, productive plan for federal use of the windfall profits tax, some legislators may be tempted to give it to the corporations directly.

Carter's plan makes us ever more dependent on the big energy companies. It continues our dependence on nonrenewable energy sources and sets the stage for the unsafe renewable alternative, nuclear breeder reactors. Energy Sec. James Schlesinger may be gone, but his spirit lingers on, not only in this state capitalist adventure on behalf of the oil companies but also in his successor, Charles W. Duncan Jr., the politically conservative former president of Coca-Cola who has been serving as Deputy Secretary of Defense. What Carter has wrought as a means of breathing life back into the corpse of his administration is not just a cynical political ploy but a major effort at long-range corporate planning of American society—in precisely the wrong direction. ■



## BLACKS

## Urban League doubts gains



Urban League President Vernon Jordan whispers to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Patricia Harris at Urban League's Chicago convention.

By Robin Schulberg

**A** CHICAGO  
S MUCH AS WE CELEBRATE the progress black people have made we must insist that the glass of our hopes is half-empty and draining fast."

So spoke Vernon Jordan, President of the National Urban League at the organization's 69th annual convention, held July 22-25 in Chicago.

The theme of the conference—"Mobilizing for the Challenges of the '80s"—embodied a call for a decade of activism, as opposed to the largely defensive nature of the struggle in the 1970s. On the League's agenda for the '80s was full employment, affirmative action with quotas, welfare reform, a youth development program, a national health-care sys-

tem, decent housing and quality education.

On the threshold of a new decade, Jordan explained in his keynote address, "black people now find themselves once again in the dark midnight of persistent disadvantage." There has been progress—"for some of us." But "the myth of black progress is a dangerous illusion used as an excuse to halt further efforts to extend real progress to all our people." Those enjoying the titles and paychecks unheard of for blacks a decade ago "would be the first to admit that they are visible only because of their rarity." In fact, the 1970s saw a decline in the living standards of the majority of black people and a widening of the economic gap between blacks and whites.

Median black family income, as a percent of white, declined from 61 to 57 percent since the end of the 1960s. Between

The black vote is not in anyone's pocket. It must be earned with commitments.

1975 and 1977, while the number of poor white families decreased by 8 percent, the number of poor black families rose by 8 percent.

"The black unemployment is higher than it was when the Brown decision was handed down," Jordan said in his address, "and higher than it was when we marched on Washington for jobs and freedom. Black people are experiencing depression-level unemployment. With the nation now entering a new recession, black people still have not recovered from the last one."

Admittedly an organization of "rarities," middle class blacks, the League reaffirmed its ties with its roots. Said Jordan, "Black people who forget their blackness need only try to hail a cab on a downtown street or try to buy a house in a white suburb. That's all it takes to remind them that the battle is not won, the struggle is not over."

Although Jordan, one of the 16 blacks who participated in the Camp David domestic summit, downplayed his criticisms of the President, he was emphatic about

the deterioration of black people's conditions in recent years. The five Carter envoys who spoke at the convention had a different perspective on the situation of blacks. "I'm proud of Jimmy and the job he's doing," said Rosalyn Carter.

Her words were echoed in succeeding days by Cabinet members Patricia Harris, Cyrus Vance and Ray Marshall, as well as ex-Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal. "We are rejuvenating our cities," said Mrs. Carter. "We reversed an alarming trend of declining job opportunities for blacks," announced Secretary of Labor Marshall. Although they acknowledged that more needed to be done, they left one at a loss to explain why the American people should be having a "crisis of confidence" when the President had the situation under control.

By the time the fifth Carter envoy had repeated the same list of black presidential appointees, it became embarrassingly obvious that the President was using the convention as a platform for his re-election bid. An appearance by Senator Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), who delivered a "state of the union" address parallel to Carter's July 15 speech, instead of his scheduled talk on health insurance, reinforced the electioneering aura around the convention.

Jordan sees the presence of some of the most powerful people in the country at the convention as an indication of black political clout. "The black strategy should be to hang loose and make the candidates come to us," said Jordan in reference to the 1980 elections. "No one can win without the black vote. The black vote is not in anyone's pocket. It must not be given away; it must be earned with iron-clad commitments to the programs and policies black people need."

But with its white corporate backing and participation, the League faces the danger of limiting, rather than maximizing, the power of the black struggle. As its agenda for the 1980s unfolds over the next few years and the black struggle sharpens, the League will be confronted with difficult decisions about the development of a black movement independent of establishment politicians.

# Barnet, Raskin, Ravenal, Klare, Halliday & Aldridge

A bold new challenge to the American Warfare State.

**RICHARD BARNET** — The Giants: Russia and America (\$3.95). **MARCUS RASKIN** — The Politics of National Security (\$5.95). **EARL RAVENAL** — Never Again: Learning From America's Foreign Policy Failures (\$10.00). **MICHAEL KLARE** — Supplying Repression: US Support for Authoritarian Regimes Abroad (\$2.50). **FRED HALLIDAY** — Iran: Dictatorship and Development (\$3.95). **ROBERT ALDRIDGE** — The Counterforce Syndrome: A Guide to US Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine (\$2.50).

Please add 75¢ for postage and handling.

Please send me the following titles:

☐ Payment enclosed

☐ Charge to my:

☐ American Express ☐ Master Charge ☐ Visa

Acct. No. \_\_\_\_\_ Bank No. \_\_\_\_\_ Expiration Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Required for Charge \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

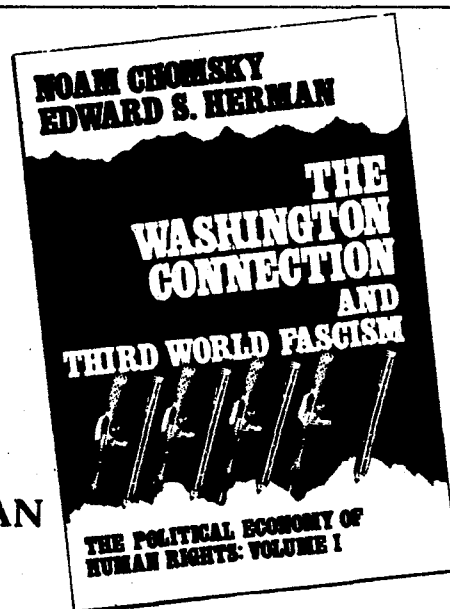
Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, State, Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: **Institute for Policy Studies**  
1901 Que Street, N.W., Dept. AA, Washington, D.C. 20009

NEW from  
SOUTH  
END  
PRESS

A work by  
NOAM CHOMSKY  
&  
EDWARD S. HERMAN



In volume 1

of the two-part work, *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman analyze the forces shaping U.S. neocolonial involvement (in Indonesia, Brazil, Iran, the Philippines, among others), the nature of these client states, and the processes and rationales used to maintain them. The authors examine the role of the media in obscuring atrocities in "client states" while exaggerating and even falsifying them when it serves U.S. interests.

"This work is a major contribution to understanding the massive political repression inflicted by the CIA and its related services on millions around the globe and the economic requirements behind such repression. This is must reading for all those who would resist."

—Philip Agee

"The establishment press will do all it can to prevent this powerful book from being read. But the evidence is too clear and the analysis too carefully done for the best of orchestrated campaigns to keep this book in the closet. Read it! Put it in your community library! Talk to your neighbors about it. No where have I read such an incisive statement on how the press serves the corporations and institutions rather than the truth."

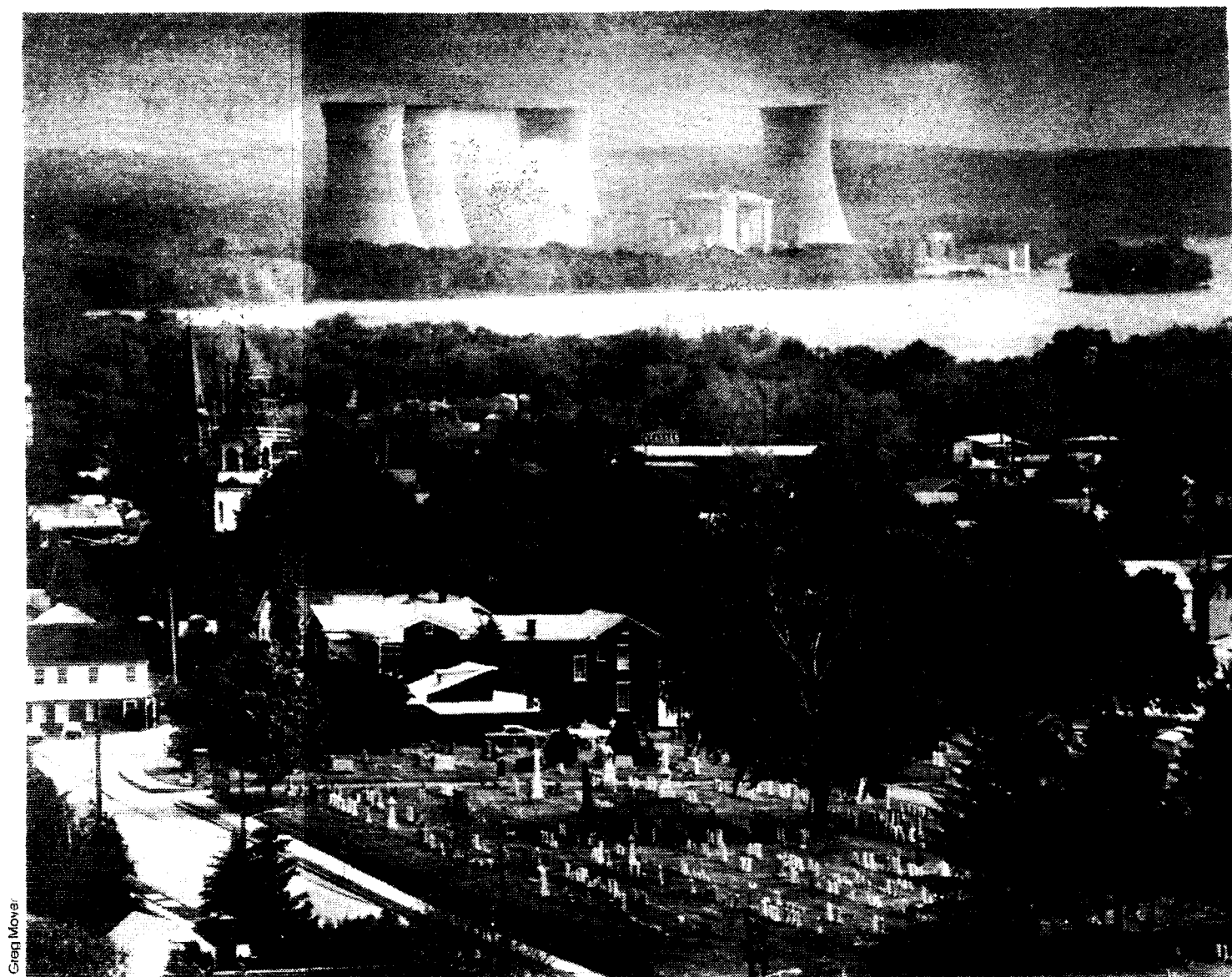
—Don Luce (Clergy and Laity Concerned)

\$5.50 paper / \$15.00 cloth (441 pp)  
Make all checks payable to In These Times and send c/o ITT, 1509 No. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago IL 60622



for information and catalog:  
**SOUTH END PRESS**  
Box 68 Astor Station  
Boston, MA 02123





Middletown, Pennsylvania, lives in the shadow.

## RADIATION

## Middletown residents still live with Three Mile Island

By Greg Moyer

*You sit here at night and look over at the tower lights and wonder what is going on over there.*

—a student at Middletown High School

**F**OUR GIANTS LOOM OVER THIS bucolic river community of 10,000 people living 15 miles downstream from Pennsylvania's state capital. The cooling towers of the Three Mile Island Nuclear Generating Plant—once monuments to civic pride—now trigger fear and anxiety in the wake of the worst accident in the history of commercial nuclear power.

The psychological fallout is real. A father worries that he should have evacuated his family; a mother "doesn't feel good" about being pregnant. Time may lessen the trauma of the first days following the release of radioactive gases March 28. But in its place grows a conviction among townspeople that "the island" must be shut down, that to face the nuclear threat again constitutes double jeopardy.

A month ago over 300 residents sat in a sweltering Middletown gymnasium waiting for the chance to be heard by members of their Borough Council. The public hearing was granted at the request of a band of local residents who organized themselves in the months following the accident.

James Hurst, a "charter member" of People Against Nuclear Energy (PANE) explained: "PANE wasn't formed because we were people looking for a cause to rally around. None of us were political activists. None of us were experts in the intricate workings of democracy and the democratic system. We're workers, parents, housewives, homeowners and, most importantly, we're concerned citizens."

John Garver, who grew up along the banks of the Susquehanna River told the Council that PANE's primary goal is to keep Unit One off line while fighting for the complete closing of the two reactors on Three Mile Island. At the time of the accident at Unit Two, Unit One was shut

down for refueling.

"The accident at Three Mile Island has caused psychological, physical and economic damage for all time after," Garver said. "We're opposed to the operation of any nuclear plant on Three Mile Island and we (PANE) want to work with other groups opposed to nuclear power so that they do not have to share Middletown's experience."

Cary Light was born and raised in Middletown. She left the area as a young adult but ultimately returned to the place where she felt she belonged.

"Now that feeling of safety and security is gone," she said. "That was important to me. It was a major loss."

Light works as a play therapist with children near Harrisburg. "I can't look at children, play with them, enjoy them the way I did two or three months ago. I look at them and wonder which ones are going to be able to produce children and which ones are not. I wonder which ones are going to have leukemia when they get older. I look at them and grieve."

## Nuclear risk-taking is in a special class.

Illy Sobel, a scientist employed by the Commonwealth and a Middletown resident, spoke about often-cited industry rebuttal about risk-taking. "Clearly we cannot put nuclear reactor accidents in the same class as other accidents, like the 60,000 deaths we hear about on the highways," he said.

"In the case of nuclear reactors, we are all captive victims. We are not informed of the facts before taking the risks. But what disturbs us greatly is the attempt to downgrade and discount the psychological impact on this community." The utility, Metropolitan Edison, has no right, Sobel said, "to dissuade the people of their real and legitimate fears."

"Ultimately," Sobel concluded, "this decision to decommission Three Mile Island will not be made in the lab or at the drawing board by engineers and scientists, but by political leaders acting through the body politic."

When Richard Swartz took the micro-

phone he motioned to a youngster perched atop a father's strong shoulders.

"We're here for the little ones," he said.

Swartz, known as a high school football stand-out, pleaded with the audience. "I ask the people of Middletown to begin the battle to put Pennsylvania in the forefront of the war against nuclear insecurity in our own neighborhood."

Using the vernacular of a pep talk Swartz rallied the crowd. "Don't let them dictate to you. Don't listen to the big corporations. Don't listen to the big national government that doesn't touch you anymore. Be Americans. This is our town. This is our land. These are our kids. Don't let them down."

Repeatedly speakers asked the council members to express themselves. Clearly PANE wanted the town fathers to take a stand in the Three Mile Island controversy. A councilmatic resolution, while not binding any party to action, would be a powerful statement, PANE reasoned, in the battle with the regulators over the reopening of the island. Yet the council, citing the strict procedural structure of a formal public hearing, remained mum.

## Is government capable of representing the public?

State representative Stephen Reed, a Democrat from Dauphin County and one of the final speakers of the evening, addressed the Borough Council as a fiery judge might charge a jury.

"What you do sets a precedent throughout this nation, and may set a precedent throughout the globe as to how far a people will permit themselves to be lied to and manipulated," he said.

"The real issue is whether or not government is capable and is willing and has the guts to represent public interests as against the private interests who own Three Mile Island."

As the gavel pounded the hearing to a close, angry and frustrated citizens confronted Council president Paul Wise and demanded more than "no comment."

"I am not in a position as a local politician to go against the federal government of the U.S. and the Nuclear Regula-

tory Commission," Wise said. "I don't know where we are in the energy crisis. And I couldn't make statements to you because I don't have the facts," he added.

By its next scheduled meeting the Borough Council had "bitten the bullet" as one PANE member put it. It passed a resolution calling for Congress to repeal the Price-Anderson Act and for Three Mile Island to remain closed until homeowners can purchase insurance against a nuclear catastrophe.

Borough manager Paul Bradtmiller explained, "If nuclear plants are as safe as the companies say they are, there should be no need for Price Anderson."

"Right now," Bradtmiller continued, "the power companies operate in a harmless atmosphere. The Nuclear Exclusion Clause on all homeowners policies means that in the case of a permanent evacuation, the loss would be total for property owners and their heirs."

Middletown now officially joins a list of southeastern Pennsylvania municipalities speaking out against the reopening of Three Mile Island.

According to Three Mile Island Alert (TMIA), a Harrisburg anti-nuclear organization, Lower Swatara Township and the town of Highspire recently passed resolutions advocating total shutdown. The City of Harrisburg was first off the starting blocks in early April when it demanded that TMI not reopen until "more stringent, comprehensive failsafe methods" to assure the safety of nuclear power are developed.

Downstream, the City of Lancaster is weighing its legal and legislative options as Met Ed engineers eye the million gallons of water contaminated by fission products trapped in the containment structure.

U.S. Rep. Allen Ertel, A Democrat from the 17th District that includes Three Mile Island, keeps in close touch with the officers of the NRC and the reactor operators, Met Ed and General Public Utilities (GPU). He contends that Unit One cannot be brought back on line until the regulators know everything about the accident on Unit Two.

"Even then, he's not sure Unit One should reopen," said a staff aide.

## TMI hearings will take two to three years.

The NRC has already announced that it will require GPU to go through the whole hearing process again before Unit One can start up. The procedure could take anywhere from one to two years and would offer residents a chance to intervene in the licensing deliberations.

Louise Bradford of TMIA said her organization has blossomed from about 30 active members before March 28 to about 250 paid members today. The TMIA newsletter reaches another 2,000 people.

As part of its ongoing program to educate people to the dangers of nuclear power, TMIA has taken a role with several other environmental and peace groups in organizing a Hiroshima-Harrisburg commemorative service August 5. TMIA volunteer Marge Clement explained that a representative from the August 5 coalition is headed for Japan to suggest establishing a sister city relationship between the two populations victimized by nuclear energy.

Referring to a letter signed by Harrisburg mayor, Paul Doutrich, proclaiming August 4 through August 9 Hiroshima Week, Clement said people must start working together for the benefit of a more liveable world. Following a speaker, the August 5 service proceeds to a public park where a pond is crossed by a Japanese-style bridge. There participants lit candles on the eve of the dropping of the atomic bomb.

The people of Middletown do not rest. The accident stubbornly refuses to go away. The townspeople have learned to trust no one but themselves when their health and safety is at issue. In Middletown vigilance equates with survival.

What sustains this outpouring of concern and energy? Certainly mortal fears and the instinct of self-preservation lie at the core, but in no small way it is the energy released from the experience of organizing politically to slay the giants. ■



# Paul A. Volker

Continued from page 3.

ishment of the European Monetary System, which strengthened the German Mark, contributed to this decline. But continuing doubts about Carter's power and commitments also played a role. These doubts were crystallized by the July appointments and dismissals.

While American labor leaders and liberals would be hard pressed to see Carter or any of his advisors as left-wingers, they are viewed in this light by the bankers: They saw the dismissal of Blumenthal and the appointments of Miller and Jordan as victories for "the left."

After having been thoroughly chastened for his 1977 attempt to "talk down the dollar," Treasury Secretary Blumenthal had established himself as the spokesman for multinational business within the administration. Against both Jordan and domestic advisor Stuart Eizenstat, Blumenthal had argued for capitulating to business demands for greater tax breaks, total decontrol of oil prices, and the abandonment of any health insurance program.

Blumenthal even found himself pitted against Federal Reserve head Miller. Remembering Arthur Burns, who had single-handedly precipitated the 1974 recession by drastically slashing the money supply, Miller consistently held out for a gradual increase in interest rates and then a levelling off. He wanted a "slowdown" rather than a recession. In July 1978, he had even taken the unprecedented step of siding with the minority against a rise in the discount rate. In spring 1979, he held out against Blumenthal's insistence that he raise interest rates.

## A marvelous choice.

With Blumenthal out of the way, the bankers reasoned that Miller and Jordan would respond to the recession by public spending, tax cuts and lower interest rates. Such policies, they reasoned, might gain Carter some popularity, but would fuel

American inflation and keep the dollar going down.

Miller's subsequent decision to raise the discount rate and Carter's appointment of Volcker were meant to appease the bankers. Volcker was a David Rockefeller protege at the Chase Manhattan Bank. He was Under-secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs in the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations, which he left in 1974 to become head of the New York Federal Reserve. Volcker has a widespread reputation as a "tight money man." In April and May of this year, as a member of the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee, he voted in the minority for increasing interest rates.

Gerald Ford's Treasury Secretary William Simon labelled Volcker a "marvelous choice."

Volcker has already hinted that he will not follow the usual course of allowing interest rates to fall as the recession deepens. In this case, he will put himself on a collision course with Carter, whose reelection is very unlikely if the recession continues into 1980.

The current recession may not only continue into 1980, but it may not have the usual salutary effect on prices and trade.

Recessions can only cure currency crises if they are confined to the particular countries in crisis. If they become generalized, as occurred in 1974-75, then world trade as a whole shrinks, and countries are not able to improve their balance of payments.

There are signs that the current recession may spread. In July, West Germany, Canada, and Japan increased their interest rates in response to rising prices and the dollar's decline. Rising interest rates will slow down their economies and also aggravate the dollar's position.

If the recession becomes generalized, it will throw into question the ability of both Carter and Volcker to determine American economic policy.

LAWRENCE  
HILL & CO.  
Publishers, Inc.

BOOKS FROM  
LAWRENCE HILL  
PUBLISHERS:

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF IN THESE TIMES!

## The Unquiet Death of JULIUS & ETHEL ROSENBERG

BY Alvin H. Goldstein

With an Introduction by Nat Hentoff

This graphic summary in words and photos of the trial and execution of the Rosenbergs is an important resource for understanding the renewed interest in the justice of their case. The book is based on the 90 minute telecast of the same name, written by Alvin H. Goldstein, which was presented on American public television and the BBC in England. It was nominated for two Emmy Awards and widely acclaimed by reviewers.

This book, comprised of the text and many of the photographs from the TV documentary, vividly recreates the atmosphere of hysteria and fear in which the trial took place and the world-wide campaign to prevent the executions.

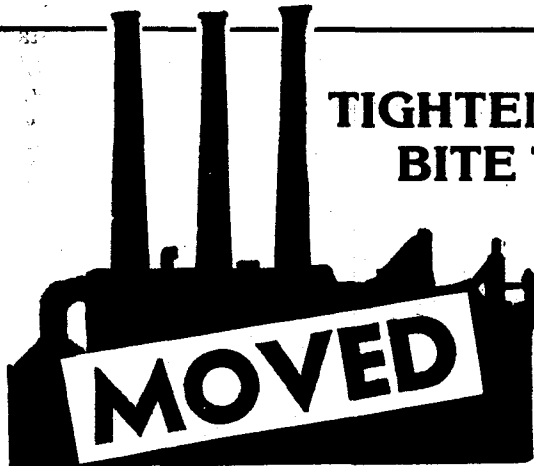
Please send ☐ copies. cloth \$8.95, paper \$4.95.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Make check payable to IN THESE TIMES. Add 50¢ postage and handling for each copy and send to: IN THESE TIMES, 5615 W. Cermak Road, Cicero, IL 60650.



## TIGHTEN YOUR BELTS, BITE THE BULLET

"It's cruel that it has to come out of the hides of the workers, but that's the way it is."  
Senator William Proxmire

Factories closed down, unemployment up. Workers laid off, hospitals shut, services cut. An "Emergency" Financial Control Board in New York, the City of Cleveland in "default." It's clear that our cities are in trouble.

### TIGHTEN YOUR BELTS, BITE THE BULLET

A film about Cleveland, New York and the crisis of America's cities.

Our film will tell the story of what's really behind the corporate agenda for our cities, what's really happening to our communities and cities, and what we can do about it. It has been endorsed by the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, by Jack Nicholl, the Commissioner of Economic Development for the City of Cleveland, and by Ruth Messinger, City Councilwoman in New York City.

They don't think it has to come out of the workers' hides, and neither do we:

YES! I'm interested in your film.

- ☐ Send me a free brochure with more information  
☐ Tell me about other films about our cities.  
☐ Tell me how I can help.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and send to  
The City Crisis Film Group  
192 Broadway Room 708 New York 10038

## FROM MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF  
IN THESE TIMES

### INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM

The Communist Manifesto Paper \$2.50 Reg. price  
plus Principles of Communism by Friedrich Engels  
and The Communist Manifesto after 100 Years  
by Paul M. Sweezy and Leo Huberman

The most influential document of modern times presented in an edition particularly suited for the student. The two additional essays are especially helpful in understanding and assessing the *Manifesto*. (MR)

Introduction to Socialism Paper \$2.95 Reg. price  
by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy

Selections from their writings present in clear and direct language the basic elements of the socialist critique of capitalist society. (MR)

How Capitalism Works Paper \$3.95 Reg. price  
by Pierre Jalée

Written in easily accessible language, yet rigorous in its approach, this is a very useful presentation of the workings of the world capitalist system. (MR)

ALL THREE FOR ONLY \$6.95

MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO IN THESE TIMES.  
ADD 50¢ POSTAGE AND HANDLING FOR EACH BOOK

Please send the following titles:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

SEND TO: In These Times, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622



# IN THE WORLD

## NICARAGUA

# The Old Man was the National Guard

By David Helvarg

MANAGUA

**I**T WAS TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE fall. Somoza's fat presidential aide Max Kelly sat drunk and unshaven in his second floor room in the Hotel Intercontinental. The bed was unmade, clothes strewn across the floor. "I own part of this hotel and can't get a fucking maid in here to clean up," he complained, while putting more ice into his water glass, half filled with scotch.

"You know me and the Old Man graduated from West Point together," he said, turning toward me, "and I used to love the U.S., but you can't believe the bullshit they're trying to pull off here. They're talking about how if Somoza goes there'll be all this aid and new equipment for the National Guard. Well, let me tell you, the Old Man is the National Guard. If he left, the Guard wouldn't last 48 hours. Besides, Somoza ain't like the Shah. He's not about to cut and run."

Kelly would be proved half right. It would be some 30 hours between the time Somoza cut and ran and the arrival of the first Sandinista unit at the presidential bunker in Managua. The National Guard would collapse in the wake of Somoza's departure.

The first indication that Somoza would leave before the expected final battle for Managua came on the morning of Monday, July 16th with the announcement that he had fired his top five generals plus some 100 other officers with 30 or more years service in the guard. This would give those officers most likely to be tried for "war crimes" by the new government time to escape before Somoza's departure. Four of his five generals took refuge in the Colombian Embassy that afternoon and the fifth flew off to Miami. Driving away from the bunker that afternoon I saw a National Guardsman using his rifle butt on a man who'd walked past him without opening his shopping bags for inspection.

Somoza's rubber stamp Congress was called into session that night in a small banquet room of the Intercontinental, where most of the deputies were now staying with their families and machine gun toting bodyguards. They were told to name a new president. They elected long time Somoza go-for Francisco Urcuyo Malianos. Some 24 deputies, having performed their constitutional duty, then packed up their bullet-proof Mercedes autos for a one a.m. caravan to the airport and a special Lanica flight to Miami.

At 4 A.M., Somoza's copter took off from the bunker for Las Mercedes airport. An hour later his cream white Lear jet was also airborne for Miami.

The next morning Urcuyo called a press conference to announce that he would serve out Somoza's term (ending in 1981) and called on "all the irregular forces" (Sandinistas) to lay down their arms. The U.S., which had been promised a 72-hour transitional government, was shocked. They recalled U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Lawrence Pezzullo and started pressuring Somoza in Miami to get Urcuyo to step down.

The Revolutionary junta of the new government, which had been slated to fly into Managua, now announced it had landed in rebel-held Leon.

### Differences were resolved in battle.

In some ways this would prove fortuitous since it would help heal what had been a growing rift between the "politicians" in San Jose, Costa Rica and the military "Commandantes" in the north. When the junta finally met with the press at the Autonomous University in Leon that afternoon, it would be introduced by Tomas



Borge (Head of the Prolonged Popular War faction of the Sandinista army), include Daniel Ortega (head of the Tercerista faction) and be bracketed by Jimie Wheelock (head of the Proletario faction) and Dora Tellez ("Commandante Dos—Military commander of Leon). Among the Sandinista's themselves, differences among the various tendencies had largely been resolved through the sharing of political and strategic resources on the battlefield.

On the drive up to Leon that day, we found the road cleared of a national guard blocking force that had stopped us at La Paz Centro two days earlier. In their place we found columns of well-armed young Sandinista guerrillas moving south along the roads.

In Leon, the new government announced its intention to move into Managua and begin the important tasks of national reconstruction. "Ours is a national and patriotic revolution," junta member Sergio Ramirez explained, "we will maintain a non-aligned foreign policy and seek non-conditional aid from all countries during a two- to four-year period of reconstruction. Domestically, we will reorganize our economy to the benefit of the Nicaraguan people. This will first mean the seizure of all of Somoza's holdings that includes some 60 percent of the nation's productive land."

That afternoon I attended a funeral in the San Felipe section of Leon for five Sandinistas killed taking the town of Nagarote the day before. A crowd of some 1,000 carried the five red and black coffins over dirt and torn-up paving stone streets towards the San Felipe cemetery. Hundreds of women carried flowers and red and black Sandinista flags. Guerrillas fired volleys from their automatic weapons as the crowd chanted slogans and the names of the dead. After the name of each dead there was a pause and then a shout of "Presente" (He is present!).

On the road back to Leon we heard that 34 of Somoza's pilots had defected to Honduras with nine planes. Truckloads of guerrillas were now lining the roads preparing to push into the city. Several National Guardsmen's bodies had been dragged out to the roadside for burning (both sides, as well as the red cross, burned bodies to prevent the spread of

disease). Further down the road we could smell other corpses still left uncollected somewhere out in the bush.

Back in the capital we found the streets deserted. There was total silence except for the national radio that continued to broadcast. "Brother Soldiers, fight on for your family and fatherland. Fight the Sandino communists who rape our children and kill our families. Fight to liberate those already enslaved in their communist zones. Fight for liberty and Christianity. Fight on, heroic soldiers of the National Guard, fight on." Out at the airport deserting soldiers had just hijacked two Red Cross DC-8 jets to Honduras.

### "We'll never surrender."

That night, Urcuyo flew to Guatemala with Max Kelly. Some unknown colonel declared himself general and commander in chief of the Guard. We found an empty room in the Intercontinental and tried to go to sleep. Periodically, throughout the night, nervous guardsmen in the bunker next door would open up with their .30 and .50 calibre machineguns. Swarms of bullets sounding like angry wasps shot by the windows, occasionally snapping into the concrete walls sending cement dust and fragments into the room. Around five A.M., a young blond German, one of several mercenaries staying on the second floor, went up to the seventh floor and started ripping off people at gunpoint while his drunken Guardia friend waved a bowie knife around in the air. Another soldier in civilian dress woke a newsman as he started piling M-16s along one wall of the newsman's room. "Don't worry," he reassured the newsman, "we'll never surrender."

Around first light we could begin to see men dressed in civilian clothes running away from the bunker. They were soon followed by army truckloads of soldiers in civilian dress, some armed, some not. In the lobby of the hotel and on the front lawn were piles of backpacks, web gear, galil rifles and grenades. Two men in civies with M-16s asked me to help push-start their Chevy. In the back seat were the bodies of two dead Guardia and a case of scotch. As the firing slackened, a group of us ran across the street to the main bunker complex. The gate was deserted. The door to Somoza's office com-

plex was open. We went in. The interior was plush with wood paneled walls and ceilings hiding a concrete wall. His bed was unmade. Next to it on the night stand was a book titled "Hombre y Mujer," a sex manual. His safe was left empty, its door open. A uniform hung on the wall. In the war room the phone was ringing but there was no one there to answer it. In his private office the military radio was still operating. Someone was calling his commander but getting no response; "The driver's been hit, over...over..., He's dying, over...over."

The first Sandinista unit, under the command of Comandante Marcos from Leon, arrived at the bunker at about 10 a.m. By 11 a.m. an ammunition warehouse had accidentally been set afire and exploding ammunition was shooting off all around the area. Muchachos (kids) who'd never fired a gun were stripping Guardia positions of guns and ammo and celebrating with wild firing. Red and black flags sprouted throughout the city. Sandinista regulars began removing arms from the kids. Three blocks from the bunker I ran into my friend Marcio from Leon. "It's good to see you boys alive," he said, hugging me and my photographer friend, John Hoagland. He told us the details about how our friend Ariel had been killed in combat. "A lot of people have died," he said. "But now with peace, we have a chance to rebuild, you know. That butcher Somoza—you look what he did to his own country, his own people, for what? for greed, for power. But it wasn't enough. We're free now. You know what it means? Free after 47 years. I'm 41 and I've never lived in a free country to call my own. This is the happiest day of my life, not only mine I think, but the whole Nicaraguan peoples."

### A time of cheering.

Later at the airport I saw 1,000 National Guardsmen and their families surrender to the Red Cross after being guaranteed safe conduct out of the country. A guardsman held a baby over his head in the main hanger. "The reason we gave up is to protect the lives of our children," he said, "not because we're cowards." There was a big cheer from the other guardsmen.

Continued on page 10.



## BRITAIN



"So that's how she's going to do it!"

## Thatcher attacks the welfare state

By Chris Mullin

LONDON

**F**OR THE FIRST TIME SINCE WORLD War II, Britain is enjoying a taste of old-style Conservative government. Under Prime Ministers Harold MacMillan and Edward Heath the Conservatives accepted the need for a welfare state and for government intervention in industry. Under Margaret Thatcher none of this is taken for granted.

Within days of election, Mrs. Thatcher's government was paying off its class in a manner so crude that it seems to have surprised many of the middle class and skilled working class who voted Conservative in the recent general election with the expectation that they would benefit materially.

One of the new government's first acts was to give enormous wage increases (up to 50 percent in some cases) to doctors, dentists, directors of nationalized industries, judges and senior civil servants. They also gave large increases to the police and the armed forces and finally they raised the wages of Members of Parliament by over 30 percent with a promise of the same again next year.

They then abolished the Price Commission, whose job was to scrutinize price increases. This was immediately followed by a wave of price rises of food and consumer goods.

Then came the annual budget. Here the government implemented its election promise to reduce the standard rate of income tax, but then took back almost all they had given away by nearly doubling the rate of indirect taxation (Value Added Tax) on most consumer goods. Once again, almost the only beneficiaries were the very wealthy for whom the top rate of tax was slashed by more than 20 percent.

All this is, of course, very inflationary. By its own estimates, the government is

talking of an increase in the inflation rate from its present level of about 11 percent to 17 percent by the end of the year. And this is not counting the inflationary effect that the enormous pay awards to senior public servants is likely to have on the level of wage claims in general.

To cap it all, the building societies (who lend to people buying their own homes) have just announced that, as a result of a recent government decision to raise Bank Rate, they will have to increase their interest rates. This will more than wipe out the tax advantages gained by many middle-class home owners, who constitute the core of the Conservative Party's electoral support.

To pay for its program, the government (besides increasing indirect taxation) has instituted a series of cuts in public spending. All local authorities have been ordered to make large cuts in their housing and social welfare programs; the health and education services are also to be cut back.

Local authorities have also been ordered to start raising funds by selling off public housing at huge discounts. Although this is an extremely attractive proposition (and one that won the Conservatives many votes) for tenants in public housing who can afford to buy their own homes, it is a disaster for those who either can't afford to buy or who live in poor quality public housing; it is also bad news for those on the waiting lists.

### Only the poorest housing left.

What this means is that local authorities will be left with the poorest type of housing that no one wants to buy. For those already in this sort of housing the chances of moving to something better will be destroyed because the better homes will be the ones that are sold.

The government is also pledged to reduce State subsidies to industry in line with its Chicago School monetarist brand of economics. Here, however, they have

received a rather unpleasant surprise: private industry, despite all the rhetoric about "State interference," rather likes being subsidized. What industry doesn't like is having conditions attached to the handouts. As a result, the Industry Secretary, Sir Keith Joseph, who is one of the government's leading monetarists, is having to make speeches to the effect that cutting state aid to industry is a rather complicated process that will take time to implement.

Where all this is leading remains to be seen. Most recent British governments have come to power swearing that they will not introduce an incomes policy and all of them have sooner or later been forced to abandon this and plead instead for wage restraint.

This government is also pledged not to introduce an incomes policy. In keeping with their monetarist philosophy, the Conservatives have said that wages in private industry will be left to take care of themselves but in the public sector the government will keep a tight hold on the purse strings, with the result that big wage increases will lead to higher unemployment. In this way, the threat of unemployment will be used to hold down wages in the public sector.

It is very doubtful, however, that this can be made to work in a time of rising inflation (some of it inspired by government policy). If it doesn't, then, by the end of the year we are likely to be treated to the spectacle of Conservative ministers (who have recently awarded themselves huge pay increases) coming to plead for "restraint" from those less fortunate.

The other big test for the government will be how it handles unemployment—at present just under the 6 percent mark. Even without a monetarist economic policy, unemployment was expected to rise dramatically over the next few years.

Like Mr. Heath's 1970 Conservative government, Mrs. Thatcher's regime has come to power pledged not to rescue "lame duck" firms which get into difficulties. Unfortunately for Mr. Heath, the first lame duck he encountered turned out to be Rolls Royce—one of Britain's most prestigious engineering firms. As a result, he had to make a swift U-turn and mount a rescue operation.

Mrs. Thatcher's government seems to be made of sterner stuff, nevertheless, they are likely, in due course, to be faced with a wave of bankruptcies and considerable political pressure to do something to alleviate the social consequences. The first candidate looks like it will be the State-owned British Steel Corporation which, like all Western Steel industries, is currently having huge losses. British Steel is planning a wave of closures that will effectively close down towns in the Midlands.

### Rhodesia is the stickler.

On the foreign affairs front, Rhodesia is the big issue. Thatcher is under strong pressure from her backbenchers to recog-

nize the Muzorewa regime. However, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, is strongly against recognition on the grounds that it would seriously damage Britain's relations with the black African states.

Opinion in black Africa has not, however, stopped the Conservatives from giving the go-ahead to a swap arrangement under which North Sea oil is sold to an oil company in return for which other oil is made available to South Africa, now critically short of oil since the collapse of the Shah's regime in Iran, once South Africa's main supplier.

As for the Labour Party, it is likely to undergo a serious shake-up before it is in any condition to be a serious contender for power again. An enormous gulf separates the mass of active Party members from the Parliamentary leadership who, rightly or wrongly, are blamed for Labour's election defeat.

Many Labour Party members are bitter that, when in government, the leadership did little to try and implement the economic and social program on which the Party was elected five years ago. They argue that, as a result, the electorate was faced with a choice of two conservative parties and that it is not surprising that they should choose the real one.

Attempts are now being made to make Labour Party leaders more accountable to the rank and file of the movement. Among other reforms to be considered at the party's annual conference in October is a proposal for giving the trade unions and the constituencies a say in electing the leader who will eventually succeed Mr. Callaghan. At the moment, only Labour MPs elect the leader, but if this is changed there is likely to be a considerable swing to the left.

It is quite wrong to say, as the British writer Kingsley Amis did recently in the *New York Review* (June 28) that the May general election marked a decisive swing to the right in Britain. Contrary to what Mr. Amis wrote, at least as many right-wing Labour MPs as left-wingers lost their seats.

If there is a single conclusion to be drawn from the result of the general election, it is that the skilled working class appear to be abandoning Labour (an estimated one-third of trade union members voted Conservative), seduced by Tory promises of lower taxes and a chance to buy their council homes. The poorer areas of Britain—Scotland, Wales and the north of England—stayed loyal to Labour; in some areas the Labour vote actually increased. The more prosperous Midlands and the south, on the other hand, recorded large anti-Labour swings.

Given the apparent inevitability of rising unemployment and the failure of the Conservatives to deliver to any but the very richest of their supporters, it is doubtful whether they can expect to maintain their big lead over Labour. But whether the Labour Party can ever again present a serious socialist alternative to the Conservatives is another matter.

## Nicaragua

Continued from page 9.

Throughout the afternoon, the streets were jammed with truckloads of armed and cheering people. Buses and cars and chanting people tied up traffic on almost every corner.

That night at the airport, Sandinistas greeted an incoming flight of foreign ministers, and other foreign dignitaries with a 150-gun salute. People crouched on the tarmac holding their hands over their ears as the fusillade continued interminable. On the tightly packed stairway leading down from the jet, U.S. representative William Bowdler futilely tried to squirm away from the embrace of a big bearded guerilla with a purple beret and M-16 strapped across his back.

The following morning some 50,000 people jammed into the newly named Revolution Plaza, in front of the National Palace. Thousands more jammed the streets leading into the area, as the southern columns from Masaya, Jinotepe, Diri-

amba and the border drove into the city along with the revolutionary junta riding a bright red truck from the Leon fire department.

From the steps of the National Palace, where only a year earlier the Sandinista guerillas had signaled a national uprising by boldly kidnapping 1,000 Somocista deputies, we looked out over a sea of red and black flags and brightly colored shade umbrellas held up by a free Nicaraguan people. To the rear of the crowd I saw the banner of the BPR, the Popular Revolutionary Bloc of El Salvador.

Some ten days earlier we had been pinned down behind a cemetery wall outside of Masaya with a group of lightly armed Sandinistas. One of them was an El Salvadorian. "What will you do after this revolution?" we asked him. "Go home and fight for the liberation of my own country," he said with a grin.

The cathedral bells started ringing over Revolution Plaza. "El Pueblo Unido Jemas Sera Vencido" "El Pueblo Armado Jemas Sera Aplastado" the crowd chanted — "The People United Will Never Be Defeated," "The People Armed Will Never Be Put Down."



## CHINA

## Not whether to modernize, but how

By Chris Mullin

**W**HEN I FIRST VISITED China eight years ago all good news was ascribed to Chairman Mao and the Party; bad news was

blamed on the disgraced former President of China, Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i). Today Chairman Mao and the Party are scarcely mentioned in the same breath. Liu is dead but his close associate, Deng Xiaoping is now well into his comeback and pursuing policies indistinguishable from those that led to his downfall in the first place.

Bad news today is blamed on the "Gang of Four."

Eight years ago contact with foreigners and admiration for things foreign was vigorously discouraged. Today, Chinese students are to be found outside every hotel, temple or park where two or three foreigners can be expected to gather in the hope of a chance of improving their English. Everywhere today there is talk about learning from the West in everything from ballroom dancing to the construction of steel mills. In the shops there are Japanese watches, and in the main cities girls are perming their hair.

Eight years ago there was much talk of learning from the peasants and the workers. Every educated young man was expected to do several years *lao dung* (manual labor) before he or she could hope to apply for further education. Today *lao dung* is generally treated as a bad joke.

Eight years ago in the factories and in the communes "incentive" was a dirty word. Today every factory has its bonus scheme and every peasant is encouraged to develop a private plot and sell the produce on the free market. More work, more pay, is the slogan of the hour.

For more than 25 years the Chinese economy was built around the principle of self-reliance: depending as little as possible on the outside world as a source of capital or aid. This policy now appears to have been jettisoned and like so much else in China the change appears to be absolute.

The reasons for such great changes are not hard to grasp, even if the speed is a little startling. Despite great progress since the Revolution, China is still a very poor country. Until now, capital investment has been made possible largely by drastically restricting the people's living standards.

Until recently, it has been possible to win popular support for a program by emphasizing the contrasts with China's harrowing past. This was all very well when the majority of Chinese citizens were old enough to remember the bad old days, but today most people in China are younger than the revolution. What's more, they are increasingly able to compare their own low living standards with those of visiting foreigners. The comparison is not favorable.

#### "Four modernizations."

Housing conditions are poor: in the big cities many people still live four or five to a room in houses they have occupied since before the revolution. In the 30 years since then, the main improvement in their condition for many people is a water tap outside the front door and light from a single electric bulb.

The lives of many working people have scarcely been touched by mechanization. To take but one example: at a commune we visited in Sichuan province, two men were using a handsaw to cut logs into planks. A process that takes hours of extremely hard work could have been transformed by investing a couple of hundred dollars in an electric saw.

In many parts of China one still comes across people harnessed like donkeys to awesome loads. This is so because China cannot internally generate sufficient capi-



Top: Highrise housing has been recently built outside of Peking. Lower left: New fashions are displayed in a Shanghai store. Lower right: Chinese gather around a foreign visitor.

tal to finance even small improvements in the lives of its citizens. In many cases, the technology and the skilled labor is also lacking.

These are the reasons why China has decided to look outward in pursuit of what is called the policy of Four Modernizations: developing agriculture, science and technology, industry, and national defense. This makes a lot of sense, but there are dangers, and it is far from clear whether they are properly appreciated by all the top leaders, let alone the great mass of the people who seem only to associate Western technology with higher living standards.

The first and most obvious danger is that China simply does not have the foreign exchange to purchase foreign goods on the scale apparently envisaged. For a while, to judge by official pronouncements earlier this year, the leadership appeared blissfully unaware of this. Hence all the crazy talk about buying everything from Hilton Hotels to Coca Cola plants and steel mills.

All this ended abruptly in February. Since then, very few new contracts have been signed and earlier plans for a massive import splurge appear to be under review. Somebody at the Bank of China appears to have got his sums wrong.

There is also a danger that Chinese leaders will be tempted to finance their modernization program by selling off their country's huge natural resources. Japan, which is already looting much of South East Asia, is now hungrily eyeing China's oil.

Tourism is another way of raising foreign exchange, and the Chinese appear to be planning to go in for this in a big way. Here the danger is that a sudden influx of wealthy foreigners will awaken in the Chinese people aspirations that cannot possibly be fulfilled. The colossal

difference between the living standards of visiting businessmen and tourists and those of ordinary Chinese has already begun to make its mark.

Already there is some evidence of prostitution and bribery. One American travel agent in Peking admitted giving cassette tape recorders to the Chinese officials with whom he was negotiating. A year ago they would have been rejected with derision, but now they were accepted as "a welcome gift."

Asked why he found bribes necessary, the American replied "because Japan Airlines are giving away color television sets." And that's only for package tours; goodness knows what the going rate for a steel mill will be.

#### Pitfalls of modernization.

Not every Western import is worth having. Inflation, for example. The price of most basic foodstuffs and other goods in China have not risen for 25 years. Some goods such as bicycles and TV sets have fallen in price dramatically. Large-scale imports from abroad, prices of which rise annually, could change all that.

There is also a danger of widening the gap between the living standards of those who live in the countryside and those who live in the cities—this has long been a sensitive subject in China. Rapid industrialization is most likely to benefit the living standards of those who live in the cities. This is bound to excite the resentment of the great mass of Chinese people who earn their living from the land. The authorities seem aware of this problem and recently increased the price the State pays for grain to the peasants.

Finally, China is beginning to show symptoms common to many developing countries: an almost positive enthusiasm for imitating the mistakes made by developed countries. High rise housing is begin-

ning to appear on the outskirts of every city. Scarcely a thought has been given to pollution, and rivers like the Chialing at ChongQing are choked with effluent.

There are even signs that motor cars are beginning to be sold to private individuals—so far only to a handful of resident overseas Chinese and to some capitalists who have recently had their assets returned. The prospect of mass car ownership in China—where the roads are already choked with bicycles—is too awful to contemplate.

In listing the pitfalls of rapid industrialization it is important to keep a sense of perspective. The case for outside help in modernizing China's economy is strong. Properly planned and gradually implemented there is no reason why it should not work.

The signs are that the leadership is deeply divided on the issue. There is the faction led by Deng that seems to favor rapid growth without too much thought for the political or social consequences. This group appears to be in the ascendancy.

Then there is the faction, perhaps best represented by Chairman Hua Guofeng, which is anxious that the benefits of new technology should be shared between the countryside and the cities.

Thirdly, there is a minority that believes that China should pull herself up by her own efforts and not risk becoming indebted to foreign capital or advice.

Finally, there is the mass of the Chinese people who, insofar as they equate imports of foreign technology and consumer goods with higher living standards and greater personal freedom, appear to welcome the change. As to the possible drawbacks, the people seem to have been kept in the dark.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China has not yet seen fit to enter into a detailed discussion of the options with the Chinese people as a whole. ■



By Jennifer Arlen  
and Peter Melnick



**A** UNEASY STILLNESS HANGS over Pine Ridge reservation in western South Dakota, home to about 14,000 members of the Oglala Sioux tribe.

As in 1973, when several hundred Sioux staged an armed uprising at Wounded Knee against Federal agents and the Federally-recognized tribal government, the Oglalas are once again gearing up to do battle. This time, however, the activists and the tribal government are on the same side of the fence.

In a one-room house near the reservation town of Kyle, Chief Frank Fools Crow sits at a small folding table, digging the marrow out of an uncooked beef bone and eating it off his knife blade. One by one a group of tribal elders arrive. They belong to the Lakota Treaty Council, the traditional government of the Sioux. They are all old men—the youngest is nearly 60. Some of them speak only Lakota, the common language of the eight tribes that comprise the Great Sioux Nation.

They have come together today to discuss the future of the Black Hills, a nine million acre region west of Pine Ridge that they regard as their sacred land. Energy companies like Exxon and Union Carbide have slated the Hills for uranium and taconite mining, which will destroy the land, Treaty Council members say. They will do almost anything to prevent that from happening.

The atmosphere in this room is apocalyptic. "The Indian religion is very sacred to us," Dawson No Horse, a medicine man, says. "The white people took most of our land, took the gold and the oil. But

they're not going to take our religion, because when they do that, there will be war.

"Not just whites fighting Indians, but whites fighting whites," No Horse says. He tells of an ancient vision of death he has heard spoken of, a vision of blood streaming down over the Hills. The fight to save the world will center on the Hills, he says.

"I told these men from Washington that the whole Black Hills is sacred to the Sioux, just like Jerusalem is sacred," Charlie Fast Horse, another medicine man, reports to the Council. His voice is low and swaying, filled with passion. Even the children on the floor become silent, momentarily forgetting their games. "When I go up to the Hills to pray these days, I'm standing there with the pipe when: 'Click.' And there's this long blond hair, blue-eyes woman, you know, with her camera under my nose." He shakes his head in disgust.

#### Who owns the land?

According to the final treaty between the Sioux people and the United States government, signed in 1868, the Black Hills belonged to the Sioux and was to be

considered part of the reservation. That clause in the treaty lasted about six years, until 1874, when the Seventh Cavalry under Gen. George A. Custer discovered gold in the Hills. Two years later the Seventh Cavalry was destroyed while defending the rights of white miners to dig up Black Hills gold against the wishes of the Sioux. Later that year, in the fall of 1876, Congress passed an act appropriating the Hills.

The way the U.S. Department of Interior sees it, 80 per cent of the Black Hills belongs to the Federal government, while the remainder is private property, owned mainly by white ranchers and farmers. The Lakota people disagree.

According to the 1868 treaty, three-fourths of all male tribe-members must vote to approve any changes in the treaty, such as a reduction in the land base. When the Federal government seized the Hills, it received no such approval. Thus, in the eyes of the Sioux, the U.S. government stole that land. And the time has come to take it back again.

The words of Frank Fools Crow, 90-year-old chief of the Lakota Treaty Council and the man in whose home to-

day's meeting is taking place, erase any doubt as to the Treaty Council's determination to preserve the Hills. Following the 1973 take-over of Wounded Knee, it was Fools Crow to whom United States officials and Indian activists turned, requesting that he preside over the peace negotiations.

One of the most respected tribal elders, Fools Crow is widely regarded as a man of peace. Yet, when asked what might happen if the Federal government were to permit mining in the Black Hills, Fools Crow's answer comes without hesitation: "There will be a war."



#### Two governments.

In 1973, Pine Ridge captured the nation's attention when 300 Indian activists seized control of a small church near Wounded Knee hill. Protesting atrocious living conditions, the violent dictatorship of then tribal president Dick Wilson and a tribal government they regarded as a puppet regime of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the activists held off an army of Federal agents for more than ten weeks.

# Armageddon PINE RIDGE «There will be a war»



Peter Melnick



# Idon at IDGE be a war»

Today, broken wine bottles and crushed beer cans litter the path up Wounded Knee hill. Nothing remains of the old Catholic church but its concrete foundations, and the Wounded Knee trading post lies rotting in the blazing sun. The Federal road blocks are gone, and many of the AIM leaders are either dead or in jail. Six years later, all seems quiet on Pine Ridge. But little has changed.

Unemployment hovers around 60 per cent. The reservation's land base continues to dwindle, as more and more of Pine Ridge passes into the hands of outside ranchers. And although Dick Wilson is gone from office, the tribe remains sorely divided politically.

Two separate governments operate on Pine Ridge, and the rift between them runs as deep as the uranium beds that underlie the Black Hills. The Lakota Treaty Council, the older government, has little formal structure. Its roots are the *tiopeshay*, or traditional Sioux government, based on consensus of the people and the wisdom of the chiefs. The Federal government does not recognize the Treaty Council.

The tribal government, the body over which Elijah Whirl Wind Horse presides, came into existence as a result of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. According to its BIA-authored constitution, virtually all council decisions require the approval of the Secretary of Interior before passing into tribal law. A resolution to spend money, to approve or veto a land sale, even the selection of tribal attorneys may be rejected by the BIA director or the Secretary of Interior.

For the most part, the two governments cooperate with one another, but it is a more than uneasy partnership. Supporters of the Lakota Treaty Council do not consider the tribal government to be legitimate. But because of its access to Federal funds, only the tribal government enjoys any real power on the reservation.

This split in loyalties permeates all aspects of life on Pine Ridge. It reflects both an economic and cultural rift, as well. Traditional versus modern. Full-blood versus half-breed. Dirt poor versus less dirt poor.

Half-breeds dominate the tribal government, in part because of their generally finer command of the English language. A larger part of the explanation, however, probably lies in the full-bloods' rejection of the BIA-guided regime. In a real sense, the tribal government has come to represent only the interests of the half-breeds, since the full-bloods tend not to exercise their voting prerogative. (In the last tribal election, less than one-fourth the eligible population voted.)

## Whites on the land.

David Reeves (a pseudonym) is a white rancher whose family has owned a farm on Pine Ridge for more than 40 years.

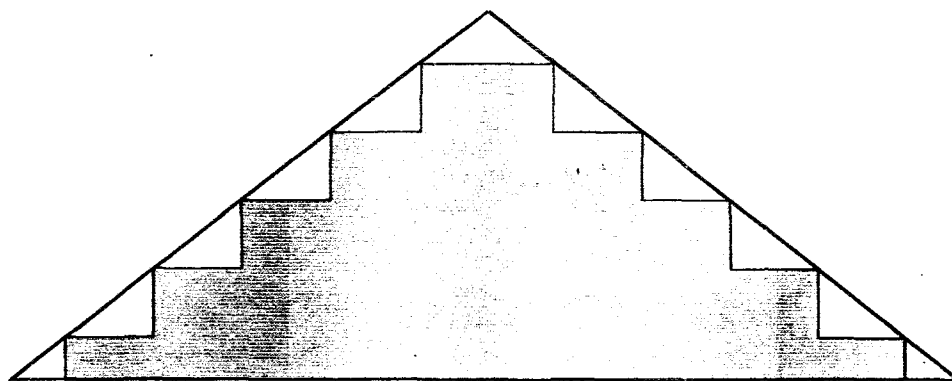
His two sons are playing basketball in the driveway. The door to Reeves' spacious, two-story home bears an ominous red sticker that says, "Warning: This house is armed." Here, in the heart of Oglala country, Reeves has created for himself a bastion of white America. Tax-free.

"Some of those radicals want the white people off the reservation," Reeves says, crumpling a clot of dirt in his hands. "To me the reservation is only the land held in trust for the Indians. This is my land. My father bought it for a fair price."

Chances are Reeves is wrong about that fair price. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act, a piece of Indian legislation that divided the reservation into 160-acre plots. Every adult tribe-member was to receive a plot, with an eye toward converting the Sioux into an agrarian people.

The Federal government held the land in trust for about 25 years, a period in which the Sioux were to receive training in farming skills. When the Sioux were given full control of their land in the early 1900s, trouble began. Whites moved in, buying up the plots right and left from Sioux who, in many cases, did not comprehend the meaning of a land sale.

Today, about a million acres—more than one-third of the reservation—are owned by non-Indians. Even among families whose ancestors did not sell off their allotted acreage, the land is generally of little use. Few Sioux inherit more than 10 or 15 acres today, four generations after the passage of the Dawes Act. And in this land where a single cow chews up 30 acres of grass in one year, the average family plot is worthless for ranching. For many Oglalas, leasing or selling the land seems



*The mining companies have united  
AIM leader Russel Means (right)  
and Tribal government chief  
Whirl Wind Horse (left).*



the only sensible course of action.

The BIA has gone to some length to streamline the leasing process that has ghetto-ized the Sioux into a handful of cluster housing projects. As a result, non-Indians and a moneyed elite of half-breeds currently lease 1.7 million acres of reservation ranchland, paying less than a dollar per acre on the average.

## Teaching survival.

Just outside the reservation town of Porcupine, a sloppily scrawled sign at the head of a driveway proclaims, "AIM—No Alcohol, No Drugs." Beyond lies the We Will Remember survival school, AIM's answer to the BIA school system. A pack of menacing mutts guard the property, led, until recently, by a half-breed wolf. BIA police impounded the animal.

The school used to be a Sioux prayer house, an old building equipped with electricity but no running water. Except for a dining room table and a decrepit blue sofa with most of its cushions missing, there is little furniture. A bulletin board dominates one wall, covered with posters, photographs and occasional revolutionary slogans. "Terrorism—Colonialism," one sign reads, followed by a long list of offending nations that includes the United States.

"What this place boils down to is educating ourselves," Madonna Gilbert, the survival school's fiery director, explains. "Most people of my generation have been brain-washed. They just hold out their hands to the Federal government and say 'Take me.'"

"It's too late for this generation," Gilbert continues. "I believe in eventual sovereignty for my great-grandchildren. But if we're ever going to achieve that, we're going to have to teach ourselves to gain control of our land base. That's legal knowledge and technical skills. Sure, these kids are educating themselves, but they're also educating the people."

Her voice rising a notch or two, Gilbert continues. "I would like to see the Federal government pull out. That's what we're working toward. No more goddamn programs. No bucks. No hand-outs. We'd be poor, but we'd be working poor. Not lying around poor, like we are now."

Toward that end, the students of the survival school are trying to raise funds to build a community food cooperative, stocked largely with vegetables from the school's garden collective. They also hope to establish a ranching cooperative that could serve as a model for similar projects.

The atmosphere within the school's walls is surprisingly free of tension. A radio blares the latest from a Rapid City disco station, and now and then a couple of kids get up and dance. Others sit around the dining table, cheating at cards and yelling at each other for the offense. Just like young people at any other school. Almost.

"This is a *real* survival school," 17-year-old Glen Jones says, stabbing at a plateful of congealing mashed potatoes. "We're fighting the revolution 24 hours a day. We only want people who really care for the land, people who are willing to fight for the Indian way. No half-steppers here. The people here can't want to go back to the white man's world."

"Fighting the revolution means educating people about the land, and teaching them about American colonialism," Jones continues emphatically. "But if it means

*Continued on page 14.*



*"If they pull off something like Wounded Knee again, they're dead. I think they are gonna be shot. They won't be treated like Hollywood Indians this time."*

*Continued from page 13.*

taking up a gun and fighting that way, we'll do that, too."

Indeed, there is no shortage of weapons around the survival school. Rifles hang over the beds of some of the students, for easy access in case of middle-of-the-night invasions. One shot-gun leans against a wall in the corner of the living room, beneath an upside-down American flag.

"We got *pieces* all over this place," Jones says, pointing solemnly toward the flag. "Just in case. We're ready for anyone. Even the Feds." He believes the Feds—the FBI specifically—to be waging a systematic war against AIM and all other forces for change on the reservation. Alarming, a great body of evidence supports his fears.



#### The FBI's war.

In February 1976, for example, a rancher discovered the partially decomposed body of an Indian woman near the reservation town of Wanblee. Two BIA police and one FBI agent, Dave Wood, brought the body to Pine Ridge village, where a local pathologist concluded the woman died of exposure. Unable to identify the body, Wood severed its hands and sent them to the Bureau office in Washington D.C. for processing. On the morning of March 3, 1976, the body was buried and Wood attempted to close the case.

Neither the body nor the case remained buried for long, however. That afternoon, the Washington bureau wired out the information that the deceased woman was AIM activist Anna Mae Aquash. Mistrustful of the pathologist's findings, relatives of Aquash obtained a court order for her body to be exhumed and re-examined.

X-rays from the second, more thorough autopsy revealed that a .32 caliber bullet, still lodged in her head, had killed Aquash. "Incredibly, this wound was not reported in the first autopsy, and gave rise to allegations that the FBI and/or the BIA police had covered up the cause of her death," a March 1976 report of the U.S. Human Rights Commission states. "The fact that officers of both agencies examined the body in situ, wrapped in a blanket beside a road and far from any populated area, yet still did not suspect foul play, lends credence to these allegations."

On the second floor of a large, gray building in Rapid City, S.D., behind a locked outer door equipped with photo-monitor devices, beyond the ante-room and a middle office, agent Thomas H. Greene follows the goings on at Pine Ridge.

Greene, senior resident agent for the FBI's Rapid City area office, has covered the reservation for about six years. In that time, he says, eyes set in earnest caricature of the Efram Zimbalist Jr. G-man, "the FBI has never done anything illegal or outside the law on Pine Ridge." Beyond these basics, Greene says, he cannot discuss the FBI's activities on Pine Ridge.

By law, the FBI's presence is required on the reservation when one of 14 felonies such as rape or murder are committed. It seems, however, the FBI may be performing well beyond the call of duty on Pine Ridge. In the words of another U.S. Human Rights Commission report, written a year before Aquash's death, "The

FBI is conducting a full-scale military operation on the reservation...Questions are raised as to the basis for FBI jurisdiction on the reservation, the seeming conflict and overlap with the jurisdiction of BIA police, and the proper role of the FBI."

#### Bitter victory.

Although Federal intervention on Pine Ridge seems to have receded in recent years, it may soon pick up again. Last month, the United States Court of Claims handed down a decision that makes a war over the Black Hills seem inevitable.

The Court ruled June 13, the Sioux are entitled to compensation for the Hills,

to the tune of \$17.5 million for the 1876 market value of the land, plus about \$86 million in interest. The Federal government had the right to appropriate the land, the Court reasoned, but in doing so was obligated to make reasonable payment.

While the national press has lauded the decision, terming it, in the words of an Associated Press article "the largest court settlement ever recorded," the Oglalas are extremely bitter over their "victory." Their greatest fear is that, if they accept the Federal government's money for the Black Hills, they will legitimate the government's claim to owning the land.

"This decision gives clear title to the U.S. government to rape our tribal lands,"

Russel Means said late last month, adding, "The tribes are certainly going to take action."

Action is indeed in the air. Already, the Oglala tribal council has voted unanimously to refuse its portion of the \$104 million settlement, as have two other bands. The remaining five tribal governments have yet to announce their intentions.

Arthur Lazarus, the Washington D.C. attorney who won the case for the Sioux, seems unruffled by his clients' unappreciative response. "Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Campleman filed their suit on behalf of the eight bands of Sioux 23 years ago. Nobody ever told us to stop prosecuting the case, so I took it all the way," he explains.

Unless the case is reversed in subsequent appeals, Lazarus's law firm stands to gain as much as ten percent of the settlement—upwards of \$10 million.

Lazarus says the Sioux "might as well take their money. There's a myth that exists on the reservation, that the lawsuit is tantamount to a land sale. The truth is, the land is long since gone. The suit simply addresses the question of whether or not payment should occur."

Cooperation on the part of the tribal governments is by no means crucial to the completion of the settlement, from the standpoint of the Federal government. According to Forrest Gerrard, director of the BIA, the Bureau will place in trust any portion of the settlement refused by one of the tribal governments.

#### A new war?

"It all boils down to legalities," a BIA staffer closely involved with the Sioux comments. "The land was taken. Unethically, but it was taken. The Sioux can be insistent about their rights 'til Kingdom come, they're not going to get that land back."

Somewhat ominously, he adds, "If they pull off something like Wounded Knee again, they're dead. I think they're gonna be shot. I'm telling you they won't be treated like Hollywood Indians this time. They'll probably lose their special trust status with the Federal government, too."

That the Lakota Treaty Council should talk of war is only a little surprising, given the deep spiritual significance of the land to the traditional tribesmembers. And from AIM activists like Russel Means, such words are unremarkable, even predictable. But for the tribal government to buck the BIA and the Federal government is something new and unheard of on Pine Ridge.

In his white, modern office in the Oglala tribal building, tribal president Elijah Whirl Wind Horse explains the position his tribal council has adopted regarding the Hills. Whirl Wind Horse is a short, soft-spoken man. In his eyes there is none of the humor of Fools Crow's eyes, nor the anger and passion of Charlie Fast Horse when he speaks on the Hills. Himself a BIA bureaucrat of 18 years, Whirl Wind Horse is not much given to rocking the boat. Nonetheless, his position on the Hills is unbending:

"I think you can say 'Please' only so many times," he explains, wearily. "After 'Please' I guess you go to court. But when it comes to outright thievery, something's gotta give."

An earlier version of this article appeared in *The Real Paper*.



Two great-grandchildren of Chief Frank Fools Crow stand outside of Fools Crow's home.



IN THESE TIMES

## EDITORIAL

## Carter's MEOW &amp; Corporate ROAR

President Carter's commanding performance on TV last month may well be calculated to energize his campaign for re-election. They will do precious little to energize the economy and even less to protect the American people from highway robbery at the hands of the oil companies and a host of other corporate bandits.

The substance of the President's do-something image-making is to put government into a more intimate partnership with corporate greed than already prevails. But, for all the huffing and puffing about strong presidential leadership, the corporations come out remaining on top as the senior partners. Nothing new has been added to the old formulas of corporate-liberalism.

Carter's proposals amount to mobilizing public funds for private profit. The public pays the bills and takes the losses; the corporations reap the gains and tighten their control over prices and investment—backed by Executive action and the law of the land.

This is what some avuncular wags in business circles and the conservative press call Carter's "going to the left." Carter's program is so partisan to government action on behalf of corporate concentration of power that business propagandists apparently figure the only way to get popular approval is to paint it off as anti-capitalist "leftism."

Whatever the media may say about a rightward popular mood, the more knowledgeable business bosses know better or at least think differently.

As it came down from the mountain, Carter's program was essentially the same as it was before he went up to the mountain. If it came from on high, it was not from a Just Providence but from the Higher Circles of the Lords Corporate. What took the President so long in delivering it to the people was not a search for new programs genuinely serving the general welfare, but a search for a way of disguising old programs, designed to preserve and extend corporate power, in the rhetoric of a "battle for democracy" and a "crusade for freedom."

It took some time for the anointed one and his council of experts to find just the right mix of Wilsonian moral suasion and Rooseveltian guile that could succeed at throwing high-priced oil on troubled political waters. Divine grace, presumably, led them to hit upon selling, as in part retribution to a sinful people and in part an "attack" on profiteering, what is in reality a massive government intervention to protect corporate wealth from popular hostility.

The proposed Energy Security Corporation, Energy Mobilization Board, and windfall profits tax comprise the worldly trinity of Carter's energy revelations. As analyzed elsewhere in these pages (David Moberg's story, page 3), the Energy Security Corporation would transfer billions of tax dollars, in the form of subsidies, price supports, loans, research, and giveaways, to corporate treasuries for the private exploitation of national resources.

It's a welfare program for capital or, to alter and paraphrase an old Hooverian phrase, it's a program for wording public funds down capitalist catwalks. Most of the money will go to a huge "synthetic" fuels boondoggle, and very little to mass transit, development of renewable energy resources and higher energy productivity. It will prolong American dependence on fossil fuels and feed their insatiable addiction.

The Energy Security Corporation is a classic old version of the old New Deal Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which rescued private banks and corporations with massive infusions of public funds, and in return, the



economy with public ownership and democratic planning. The corporations came away with more power and wealth, the people with rising "administered" prices, interest rates, and taxes.

The ESC's more recent pedigree traces back to Nelson Rockefeller's proposal a few years ago and to that of Wall Street banker and New York City economic czar Felix G. Rohatyn for a similar boondoggle at the regional level among northeastern states. Indeed, the federal-level ESC is most probably the prelude to setting up parallel regional or state-level ESCs, so that "private enterprisers," big and small, can hop onto the public gravy train.

The Energy Mobilization Board is a throwback to the War Production Boards of World Wars I and II. It would give the federal executive extraordinary powers to override local, state, and even federal laws intended to protect the environment and the people's health and safety, to clear the way for corporate enterprise. Carter's rhetoric has drawn heavily on war imagery, because he is aware that the American people most readily acquiesce in riding roughshod over constitutional safeguards against arbitrary power under the perils of war. It is an abuse of the American people's sense of patriotism. But this time many Americans are realizing that the war is not being waged in common against some external enemy but by Corporate Power headed by its White House commander-in-chief against the American people.

The windfall profits tax, designed to fund the Energy Security Corporation, and the financial lynchpin of the whole program, would in reality amount to federal underwriting of inflated energy prices and huge corporate profits. It would in effect impose a regressive tax collected for the government by the corporations for refunding back to those corporations.

Carter's MEOW—his Moral Equivalent of War—is but the presidential echo of the corporate ROAR—Ripping Off American Resources. It puts the nation's executive office at the further service of corporate power, insulated all the more from democratic processes of the representative branches of government.

If the President and the Lords Corporate can get away with this latest dill,

of the Corporate State, it is only because the socialist alternative of public ownership and democratic planning has still too weak a voice in American politics. But it is the only economically efficient and socially just alternative to the corporate routine of rule and ruin.

America's energy debacle makes that palpably clear. Americans who have never heard a socialist speaker, or who think they oppose socialism—from truckdrivers

to factory and office workers, from middle income professionals to main street business proprietors—are already drawing the practical conclusion, if still in crude and rudimentary form, in their spontaneous call for "nationalization" of oil.

It remains for socialists to take up the pragmatic intelligence of the American people against the corporate ideologues and bring the issue into the center of American politics.

## Call it "religious faith"—It's still socialism

*Just as President James E. Carter agonizes in public over the conflict between the general good and special interests while upholding capitalism, which of necessity is founded on and must protect and defend selfish interest, so did President Dwight David Eisenhower. A conservative Republican who prided himself on cherishing democratic and Christian values, Eisenhower wrestled with the conflict between the profit motive as the basis of a social system and the necessity for "cooperation and equality" as the genuinely realistic condition of an enduring general welfare and political democracy.*

*No more than Carter, could Eisenhower bring himself to renounce capitalism for democracy and the common good, but perhaps more than the liberal Democrat Carter he acknowledged the severity of the conflict. He was, after all, the General who as President warned against the "Military-Industrial Complex."*

*The following is excerpted without further comment from a memorandum Eisenhower dictated July 2, 1953, after about five months in the White House. The full memorandum appeared last April 1 in the Los Angeles Times, and was reprinted in the Times by Francis L. Loewenstein, professor of history at Rice University.*

*Daily I am impressed by the short-sightedness, bordering upon tragic stupid-*

*ity of many who fancy themselves to be the greatest believers in and supporters of capitalism (or a free competitive economy), but who blindly support measures and conditions that cannot fail in the long run to destroy any free economic system...*

*...no matter what were the true basic causes of the deterioration of democratic systems established among the citizens of ancient Athens and Rome, it is safe to say that the principal contradiction in the whole system comes about because of the inability of men to forego immediate gain for a long time good...*

*As it is, the danger is very real and very great that even the so-called enlightened areas of Western Europe, Britain, United States...will, by stubborn adherence to the purpose of achieving maximum immediate gain, actually commit suicide.*

*In this situation, we find a reason to say that, even if the free government were not originally based upon some form of deeply felt religious faith, men should attempt to devise a religion that stresses the qualities of unselfishness, cooperation and equality of men.*

*In the facets of our resources—material, scientific, human and spiritual—there is ample assurance not only of security but of continued advance for all the free world in living standards if only we have sense enough to learn to cooperate for the long-term benefit of all of us.*



# LETTERS

## BAEZ AND THE BOAT PEOPLE

**Y**OUR BAEZ ARTICLE (ITT, JUNE 27) didn't mention the crucial major source of Baez's information: that the Vietnamese government itself acknowledges that there are 50,000 people in what it calls reeducation camps. You also soft-pedaled the government's unwillingness to explain or allow foreign investigation of the charges. Instead you devoted two-thirds of your article to discrediting a refugee's admittedly hearsay reports of an incident which took place while he was in prison. (You also, by the way, dismissed only two of the eight names supposedly on the Saigon Manifesto—what of the other six?)

Why is the left paying so much attention to Baez? Surely no fewer than 50,000 Vietnamese deserve most of our attention. And some elements of the left itself deserve attention as well, particularly those elements that defend any regime calling itself Socialist, even one that uses such transparent euphemisms as "reeducation camp," and those—there apparently were some—who refused to sign Baez's letter on the grounds that human rights violations in Socialist countries shouldn't be protested at all.

—Tom Robinson  
Berkeley, Cal.

## DOES NOT STAND ALONE

**Y**OUR MAGAZINE APPEARS TO SUPPORT self-determination and is in cooperation with the rights of individuals to self-respect. I used frequently to read books and magazines with that frankly socialist point of view to which you ascribe. Some progressive journals covered peoples who refused to submit to slaveries and colonialism, that refused to allow their resources to be greedily bolted or otherwise abused; writings that realized that as long as things are allowed to "go on," there is no self-respect, no protection from the jaws of corporate titans.

Yet there is a constitution that provides such protection. Proof of this is the existence of your Independent Socialist news weekly. And there are laws and declarations that support self-respect. In other words, the U.S. does allow the voice of the progressive point of view.

It's up to magazines such as yours to demonstrate the power of vested interests. I subscribe to your magazine and hope that after reading it I will no longer feel that I stand alone in my demands for self-respect.

—Robert B. Jones  
Attica, NY

## DISCO CONSPIRACY

**R**UMORS HAVE IT THAT DISCO WAS originally designed as musak for neighborhood Citibanks in Harlem. Is there any truth in this?

William DiFazio  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

## ARROGANCE

**G**EORGE FISH (LETTERS ITT, JULY 11) is entitled to his opinion that disco "does suck," but I cannot believe the arrogance of his proclamation that "Disco music is not black music" and that its main appeal is to "white affluent teenagers."

One truly wonders if Fish exists in the real world. Obviously he has not spent

any time in black urban areas, nor in the record stores in those areas. Whereas disco comprises the overwhelming majority of the stock in those stores, in the white suburban stores disco is typically no more than at most 20% of the offerings. The big seller in the burbs is Fish's favorite—rock—the music that began as a commercial watered down version of black rhythm and blues.

After defining what is not black music by fiat, Fish then lists those musicians who "showed that rock could be creative." Among them are a number of performers who, though undeniably creative musical contributors after gaining popular recognition, won their initial acclaim by unashamedly covering the work—not just the song but the exact same arrangement—of the original black performers. The fact that a Janis Joplin was tremendously talented doesn't make a penny's difference to Irma Franklin (Aretha's sister and original performer of the wonderfully defiant *Take a Little Piece of My Heart Now*) or to Big Mama Thornton (*Ball and Chain*).

The black community will decide what is and is not their own music.

—Bill Tucker  
Camden, NJ

## WRONG SLANT

**I**AM DISTURBED BY THE TONE AND ALLEGiance of Nancy Lieber's article about Portugal (ITT, July 11). The article portrays the PSP as the good-guy protagonist, fending off the bad guys to the right and left. It portrays the forces to the left of the PSP with typical Cold-War imagery: "the extreme-left Armed Forces Movement"; a Communist Party that "puts Soviet interests before Portuguese interests"; and their combined threat of a "left-wing dictatorship."

But these were precisely the forces that made possible a genuinely revolutionary mass movement of agricultural, industrial and white-collar workers in 1974-75. Meanwhile the PSP played a relatively minor role in this movement and later (as Lieber admits, with appropriate apologetics) actually tried to roll back movement gains.

The article is full of odd word choices and hidden assumptions that block critical thought. For example, when the Communist Party and the Armed Forces supported the MPLA in Angolan decolonization, the article says that their role was "dictated primarily by the desire to open the road to Soviet penetration of Africa." (italics mine) When the PSP accepts IMF-imposed austerity (for working people) and reverses revolutionary gains (i.e., accepts the demands of capital), the article says that the PSP does so because it had to turn to "the only available source of financial aid—the IMF." Think about it...

ITT readers should be aware that Lieber's article is rather far to the right of much of the analysis of the Portuguese situation in the independent European press, for instance the analysis in Italy's *La Repubblica*. The Lieber article uncritically follows the line of the Socialist International and Messrs. Brandt, Schmidt, and Craxi. Is Lieber perhaps putting the interests of the SI and the forces it represents before Portuguese interests?

—Roberta Gamer  
Chicago, Illinois

## DISCO, SCHMISCO

**A**S AN AVID READER OF ITT, I WANT to complement your paper on its efforts to present critical news reporting while providing a vehicle to discuss is-

ues vital to American leftists. But in the past month, it is sad to see the "backlash" your music critics are receiving for trying to provide a positive view of disco. People are entitled to their opinions, but it seems like the latest letters in reply to the four disco reviews are nothing more than wasted energy, full of hate. I, too, prefer to listen to rock 'n roll over disco, but not based on "political preferences."

George Fish (ITT, July 11) and Andy Goutman (ITT, May 27) are absurd to think rock 'n roll is naturally "more progressive" than disco. Frankly, I don't know of any rock 'n roll group, of "high stature," that hasn't sold out, or has decided to play benefit concerts for left-wing causes on any semi-consistent basis, although all "big-namers" are making their bundle. Besides, the record covers of over three-fourths of rock and roll albums depict blatant sexism (i.e. Rolling Stones-Black and Blue, etc.). And, while I agree with their criticisms of Disco, mainly that it is easily produced in studios through multi-tracking, that it is controlled by the monster recording companies, and orients listeners towards a specific consumer consciousness, don't Fish and Goutman realize that rock 'n roll has the same problems since it is a multi-billion dollar corporate enterprise?

Goutman has gone over the edge when he declares disco to be "a form of social control." Theodore Adorno was paranoid about American Jazz in the 1940s and 1950s, and was really afraid that the working class would become entranced by the steady beat in Jazz music. If we consider disco to be "culturally regressive" and a mode of social control, what about rock 'n roll? How can we consider the bulk of rock 'n roll to be emancipatory when the giants who control disco (i.e. RCA, Columbia, CBS, etc.) also control the type of rock 'n roll we listen to?

—Jay Krulewitch  
Eugene, Oregon

## WELCOME BACK KONING!

**T**HIS SUBSCRIBER WOULD WELCOME more of his commentaries. Arrogance and ignorance are not limited to any segment or class of our society...see Jimmy Carter, Joan Baez, or Benjamin Hooks. Not to mention ITT...and me.

—Frank Scott  
San Rafael, Cal.

## MADE WILLY BRANDT LOOK RED

**I**AM BOTHERED BY THE STALE ANTI-communism in Nancy Lieber's report on Portugal, "Socialists strive to build a Parliamentary democracy" (ITT, July 11), and by her lavish support for Mario Soares, whose style of socialism makes Willy Brandt look like a Leninist. She looks positively upon the questionable allegation that in 1975, Portugal "narrowly escaped...a left-wing dictatorship by the Portuguese Communist Party and the extreme-left Armed Forces Movement," a statement not supported by explanation.

I closely followed events in Portugal during the year following the fall of fascism, and up to the alleged "left coup" and the suppression of the left that followed. I read (even in the U.S. daily press) of workers and soldiers councils, farm-workers taking over and managing farms, workers running factories, liberated newspapers and broadcast stations whose news content was now democratically decided by its workforce (including typesetters and printers) and not just by an editor or publisher. In short, it was the type of direct, workers democracy and control that socialists have always dreamed of—strikingly similar to the revolutionary situation in 1936 Spain as glowingly described by George Orwell, the most democratic of socialists.

I also read (in the *L.A. Times*, Oct-Nov. 1975) of "predictions of a leftist coup, which have come almost weekly by the Socialists," that "Mario Soares charged that foreign revolutionaries were actively fomenting unrest in Portugal," and that "Soares has threatened to quit the government if *Republica* newspaper was not returned to its owners and editors." And I remember Philip Agee's warnings to the Portuguese people of a massive CIA influx into Portugal, and of the agency's apparent strategy of using Soares and the Socialist Party to arrest the revolutionary developments.

—J. Cohen  
Venice, Cal.

## KUDOS FOR SHUTDOWN SERIES

**I** WOULD LIKE TO COMMEND ITT AND David Moberg for the fine series on plant closures. It was timely and accurate.

We in the wood products industry are sorely aware of the devastation a mill closure imposes on a community. In many cases in woods products, the mill is the town.

Recently in Oregon, a bill stronger than OPIC's was introduced. It has not passed but it is laying the groundwork for the 1980s. Plant closures will be one of the top priority items for labor and community in the 1980s.

Thank you for a view of the impact, alternatives and vision.

—Bob Baugh  
Department of Research, Education  
and Collective Bargaining Coordination,  
International Woodworkers of America  
Portland, Ore.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

**T**HE STICKNEY-CLARKE-ELSMAN-GARret-Reif letter (ITT July 11) taking issue with Joan Baez's appeal for human rights in Vietnam is reminiscent of the propaganda following the Hitler-Stalin pact.

I have no idea how many of the refugees are "former merchants, some who worked for the U.S. military and AID, some who disagree politically with the new government, Hoa people, and those who cannot adjust to the present austere living conditions." And I suggest that this is irrelevant. What are Stickney and company trying to tell us? That political preferences, past ways of making a living, ethnic backgrounds, are legitimate bases for deprivation of human rights?

—Fredrick S. Gram  
St. Paul, Minn.

## LOOK ALREADY!

**I** AGREE WITH YOUR JULY 4TH EDITORIAL on Begin's West Bank settlement policy. However, the accompanying cartoon by Oliphant left me repulsed. The gist of the cartoon was an insightfully satirical *reductio ad absurdum* of Begin's Greater Israel policy. But Oliphant's use of dark-haired, hook-nosed settlers mouthing idioms ("Look already! Anti-semitism way out here!") constitutes stereotyping that borders on bigotry.

Political cartoons of this sort are reminiscent of Hitler's *Volkischer Beobachter* and *Pravda* during the Stalinist "Doctors' Plot." Look, already—we don't have to look to Tibet to find anti-semitism; maybe we should look closer to home.

—Harry Haller  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



S. M. MILLER

## The richness and limits of Lynd's radicalism

AT THE SPRING MEETING OF THE EASTERN SOCIOLOGICAL Society in New York, a session discussed the work of Robert S. Lynd—and, by implication, some of that of Helen Merrill Lynd. The Lynds are best known for their landmark sociological studies, *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*.

¶ Three points struck me during that session—the roots of American radicalism, learning what one can from our teachers, the effects of political alienation. ¶ One of the speakers ended on the note that the Lynds' classic *Middletown* books

represented "the Americanization of Marx," and that their analysis of the *Middletown* ideology anticipated the Frankfurt School. This view seems to me terribly wrong. Lynd was largely shaped by the tradition of populism and the progressive movement in the United States. While he was devastating and unrelenting in his attack on the plutocracy and the power of big business and its institutions, his critique came much more out of muckraking and populism than from a Marxist analysis of the basic structure of capitalism.

It is important for an understanding of the U.S. and for the intellectual work of social scientists to get this straight. To think that every form of radical critique is inevitably and necessarily a product of an adherence to Marxism is limiting and distorted. There is an authentic, indigenous American history of radicalism which should not be lost. The recent importation of Marxism and neo-Marxism to the United States has led to an historical foreshortening and a distaste by some for the historical roots of American radicalism. These roots do not mainly lie in a Marxist analysis of the United States.

Nor is "unconscious Marxism" a useful concept. If one is to benefit from Marxism as an analysis, one should have a conscious use of it or else it is not a useful theoretical tool. If one reaches valid conclusions through other methods than

Marxism, even if the conclusions converge with what a Marxist analysis would produce, then Marxism has not made a contribution.

Lynd's radicalism, like that of other progressives immediately before and after World War I, was focused on the concrete and was deliberately oriented away from theorizing and from the conscious use of a conceptual apparatus. Indeed, it is not much of an exaggeration to say that it had a strong disdain for what was thought of as "theory." This was a bad upbringing for one who found himself in the Forties and Fifties in the intellectually exciting milieu of the Columbia sociology department with its high approbation for theoretical analysis.

Columbia became an uncomfortable place for Lynd. With Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton joining the department, middle-range theorizing became the prized objective and survey research the approved method. Lynd was not gifted by experience and perhaps not by nature for this kind of theoretical work. He felt therefore an acute deficiency in what he could do compared to some of his younger sociological colleagues. (He did not do any field work after *Middletown in Transition*.)

The department was increasingly marked by its "theoretical," anti-ideological, survey research ideologies. Although empirical work took place at the Bureau of

Applied Social Research under Lazarsfeld, Lynd became estranged from the point of view shaping that research and from the topics it pursued.

He was attracted initially to C. Wright Mills because Mills was working on the important problems of the day, e.g., what was happening to labor unions. But Lynd did not know how he himself could connect with these issues in his own way.

He was not able to aid his students in moving from concrete depictions of what he regarded as the malevolent developments in the U.S. to a general, theoretical, abstract formulation of these statements. Many of his radically-oriented students, as Jay Schulman commented at the discussion, felt bereft of guidance as a result. They felt that Lynd was letting them down in not providing a substantial theoretical counter-weight to the main theoretical line of the Department and in not offering a clear research line.

The Lynd experience raises the question of how to learn from people who are unable to provide everything we want and need. Over time certain perspectives become less popular, perhaps even less useful. But we should not disdain those who do not change with the demands of the times, which frequently are inappropriate. What is needed is a sense of what we can learn from people while recognizing what they are not giving us. We should avoid denigrating and disregarding them.

The problem also runs the other way: the sense of discomfort, inappropriateness and neglect visited upon those persons who feel that their work is losing or not gaining resonance. As times change, new problems come to the fore, different intellectual and cultural styles emerge, and new political formations appear. All of us then run the danger of becoming obsolete, anachronistic, irrelevant, or fighting a rear guard action against what might be considered vanguardism or faddism. How to survive this danger without succumbing to whatever is on the cultural and political plate at the moment or without refusing to reconsider one's approach is an issue that everyone has to face at some point (before as well as "after 30").

Staughton Lynd, the son of Robert and Helen Lynd, spoke very evenly and insightfully of the work of his parents. One of the points he made was that he felt his father was too obsessed with the power of business. Robert Lynd ignored to a large extent the efforts to counteract that power—grassroots movements, the signs of protest and action. By one-

sidedly emphasizing the strength of big business, he did not strengthen those who were combating that situation. As a result, there was a paralysis of will in his father, an inability to move forward.

I think this point is acute and applies to the broader area of "political homelessness." Robert Lynd felt isolated from the radical movements of his time. He could not join the Communist Party; the Trotskyist sects were not attractive; the left of center groups uncomfortable. He disdained the liberalism of the Democratic Party. Lynd was a radical without a party or a movement. He was politically homeless. This feeling, I think, intensified not only the sense of isolation but also the sense of despair and impotence.

Today it is very hard to have a political home that extends beyond neighborhood or single-issue actions. It is very difficult to locate a political activity or organization that deals with broad-scale national issues and induces a sense of validity as well as optimism.

Consequently, intellectuals as well as political activists have to learn to live through periods of political homelessness.

This requires a sense of long-term development and change. If not much can happen of benefit in the next few years, one must be able to live with the understanding that the struggle to change a society like the U.S. is a long term one. Even "a revolution" would not simply and automatically root out the disturbing qualities of capitalist (and some socialist) societies and may lead to some new ones if they are not guarded against.

Consequently, a long-term view of making cumulative changes is necessary if people are to struggle politically and intellectually. Otherwise anger, sectarianism, and internecine conflict substitute for efforts to deal with Americans' problems and consciousness.

To prevent the feelings of isolation and despair, of powerlessness and defeatism, connections with others are necessary (even if new headaches are produced). Some progress is being made among many young left-oriented social scientists (in an implicit awareness of the important points about reflexivity that Alvin Gouldner has been making). More is needed. How social scientists can work together to give their work continuity and depth and their lives meaning and satisfaction is one of the issues that assessing the Lynd legacy leads us to reconsider.

S.M. Miller is professor of sociology and economics at Boston University.

MANNING MARABLE

## The conservative aims of American liberalism

MOST OF THE PUBLIC PROGRAMS which have advanced the material and social prospects for black America have been achieved by political liberals of both races. Part of the reason for this is that there are simply many more liberals than black radicals

and leftists, and since the New Deal of the 1930s they have held positions of political and ideological hegemony within the federal social welfare bureaucracy and throughout the black community. Liberal solutions also have an advantage over more radical alternatives because they appear to be less costly, more "responsible" and more immediately effective.

Consider the position of an unemployed black woman who has two children to clothe and feed. The classical conservative says to her: "Let the free market take its course; abandon all federal government regulation of the economy; cut social welfare spending completely." The radical says: "The welfare system as it now exists is dehumanizing and degrading to poor peo-



ple; the economy is structured to benefit only the capitalist class; a revolution will destroy the material foundations of inequality and provide jobs, health care and better education for the oppressed."

Between these positions stands the political liberal. The liberal approaches the unemployed black woman with genuine sympathy. For her unemployment, the liberal creates C.E.T.A.; for her children, he provides Head Start and Upward Bound; for their hunger, he creates the Food Stamp program. Unlike the radical, the liberal's solutions are relatively easy to initiate and call for no

political activism on the part of the recipient. The liberal uses the radical's language to achieve the conservative's aim: the preservation of the capitalist system, and the traditional ethnic/racial hierarchy within society.

The liberal alternatives for social development are rooted in a series of tacit assumptions about the basic prospects for black life in the twenty-first century. First, liberals propose the concept of the universal norm: that all human beings, for better or worse, want the same things and approach life in the same way. Within this is the idea that blacks do not have a separate culture worthy of the name, and that cultural universality is a more healthy aesthetic perspective.

Many radicals also accept this idea of universality as a social norm which can or should be achieved through political legislation, desegregation of traditional black communities, and the merger of white and black cultural expressions (e.g., disco music). Recently, the chief expression of this philosophy has been the struggle of liberals, radicals and many blacks in favor of desegregated public schools through the use of "busing" and other means. Indirectly, this philosophy is used to attack the existence of traditional black colleges in the South and Black Studies curricula in white universities.

Second, liberals tend to believe that significant cultural and political distinctions between ethnic groups and racial groups are based solely upon economic stratification, not tradition, custom, social thought and group behavior. One liberal black social scientist, William J. Wilson, argues against the continuity of ethnic rivalries between blacks as a group and whites by describing a "declining significance of race."

Other less sophisticated critics claim that Black Power politics and the Black Arts Movement in aesthetics only obscured the hard-core problems within the black community by alienating potential white allies in the cultural and political spheres. In all instances, liberals propose reforms on a basis of biracial cooperation as the means for qualitative black social development.

The period of liberal political hegemony over black people may finally be coming to a close, unfortunately about thirty years too late. Liberal reforms for the social problems of blacks provide temporary solutions to old grievances, but do not structurally transform the fundamental causes which created the problems in the first place.

The totality of a problem must be revealed to those who are the objects of oppression; this liberalism cannot do, because it would speak to the inability of the dominant socio-political elites to provide long-range solutions within the capitalist system. The liberal is actually far more politically dishonest than the true conservative, since the Right has absolutely no illusions about the future inferior position of all black folks if a full-blown conservative regime achieved power.

The liberals want to socialize a small portion of the process of capital accumulation in order to placate the marginal, dissident groups within the existing political economy; they are not prepared to advocate democratic socialism, and much less to prepare the path for a full cultural democracy in which blacks as a group have an independent and interdependent status with whites.

Manning Marable is professor of history at the University of San Francisco. He is an editor of *Socialist Review*.



# PERSPECTIVES

## High Court revives "Corporate Soul"

By Lawrence R. Sperber

IN THE LAST WEEK OF THE CURRENT TERM, THE U.S. SUPREME COURT reversed two lower federal courts and ruled that the affirmative action plan agreed to by Kaiser Aluminum and the United Steelworkers did not violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. ¶ Under the collective bargaining agreement, of which the plan was a part, 50% of the openings in in-plant craft-training programs are reserved for black employees, until the percentage of black craft workers in a plant becomes commensurate with the percentage of blacks in the local labor force.

Prior to 1974 at the Kaiser aluminum plant in question (at Gramercy, La.), only 1.83% of the skilled craft workers were black, although the local work force was 39% black. Weber had claimed that black employees with less seniority than his had been chosen, and he had been rejected, and that this constituted discrimination against him as a white person, in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Two lower courts agreed. In the fifth circuit Court of Appeals Judge Minor Moore Wisdom had dissented.

Weldon J. Rougeau, head of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, the Labor Department agency that enforces President Johnson's 1965 Executive Order 11246 forbidding federal contractors from employment discrimination, was interviewed by the *New York Times* about the implications of the Weber case. He said: "It sanctions affirmative action in a way that is just questionable. It really gives us a shot in the arm by making it much more viable than after Bakke." Asked, "How about proving intent? Does Weber lift it?" Rougeau replied: "Probably. If looks more at historic and sociological factors....Justice Brennan called it a 'manifest imbalance'...he's talking about the historic problem of dealing with racial discrimination and its vestiges, not intent."

Although the Court's opinion was deliberately narrow in scope, there is no question that this is the most significant aspect. Recent cases have insisted on a showing of intentional discrimination before an affirmative action plan using numbers (quotas or goals) could be justified.

A few days after Weber, the Court decided two school busing cases from Ohio, in which it was feared the Court would continue to insist on narrow and mechanistic legal hurdles, including proof of racially discriminatory purpose. The Court found plenty of evidence that the Ohio schools were illegally segregated by official intent, both before and after 1954, and declared there was a continuing "affirmative duty" to rectify it.

At first glance then, the decision in the Weber case appears to be contrary to the opinion in Bakke. Bakke was ordered admitted to the University of California medical school at Davis, but Weber did not get into the apprenticeship training program at the Kaiser plant. The Davis quota failed to pass for lack of proof of intentional discrimination by the University, but Weber required no such proof.

But close examination of the limitations imposed on the scope of the judgment in Weber reveals a conceptual kinship between the two solutions.

In Bakke the Court agreed with the California court that the rigid quota system of the so-called Task Force, under which no white had ever been ad-

mitted as "disadvantaged," violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It disagreed with California Justice Mosk, however, who said that race could never be considered in admissions to professional school.

Five Justices of the Supreme Court agreed that race could be considered among other factors indicating "disadvantage." It could be weighed by the authorities in the interest of obtaining a diversified student body. Minorities could be preferred to some extent within the conscientious discretion of the administration. It was left up to the good will of the authorities.

The Weber case is legally different because it does not arise under the Fourteenth Amendment, since no state action is involved. The Court explicitly eludes all questions arising from compulsory orders of the government to achieve racial balance. The Supreme Court narrows its approval to voluntary collective bargaining agreements reached by corporate management and labor unions.

These plans seek to eliminate racial imbalance in the work force, which arose out of traditional discrimination against blacks in the crafts. The plans are for special training and are temporary. Once again the solution is limited to the conscience of the corporate establishment.

Viewed in this light both cases are consistent with the doctrine of corporate liberalism that the modern corporation is a "soulful corporation" (as Karl Kaysen put it), that the modern corporation has a conscience which must be constitutionalized, if corporations are to act for the public good (as written about in the works of A.A. Berle, Jr.)

Justice Brennan, writing for the majority of five, found that Congress in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 "left employers and unions in the private sector free to take such race-conscious steps to eliminate manifest racial imbalance in traditionally segre-

gated job categories. We hold that Title VII does not prohibit such race-conscious affirmative action plans."

The Court goes on to observe in its first footnote: "Judicial findings of exclusion from crafts on racial grounds are so numerous as to make such exclusion a proper subject for judicial notice." There follows a number of citations to federal cases, followed by publications of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, and numerous other texts and reports.

The dissenters, Chief Justice Burger and Associate Justice Rehnquist, reject this "modern" and moderate approach to corporate power, opting for the laissez-faire approach of the Milton Friedmans and the Libertarians, in which the sole duty of the corporation is to pursue profits. They say, let the market govern the selection of the work force, acting always "color blind," attentive to obtaining workers of the best quality. No attention is to be paid to race or to the history of racial exclusion in this country. If the blacks put forth "effort," they will be hired (or admitted to the professional schools on merit alone.)

This insight also clarifies the move by the majority to abandon the narrow test of purposeful discrimination against particular blacks as a justification for affirmative action, where the plan is, as in Weber, voluntary and consensual between the corporate management and the union. The majority, instead, invokes the doctrine of taking judicial notice of the history of discrimination against blacks in the crafts. This is sufficient to justify the 50-50 selection of apprentices, surely as much a quota as

the plan used at Davis Medical School.

The modern corporation is viewed as justified in following its conscience in ameliorating imbalance in its work force, even though the corporation (or union) could not be found individually guilty of causing the imbalance or acting from motives that are found to be purposefully invidious or discriminatory.

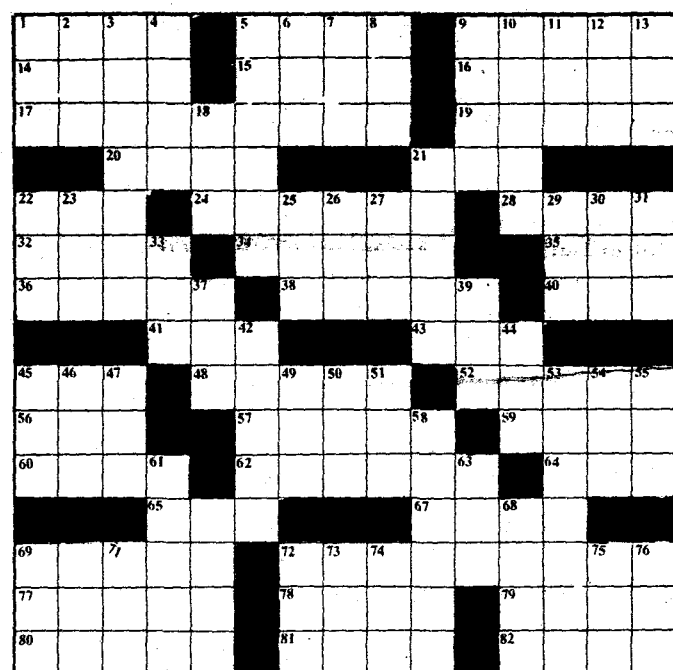
In this sense Bakke and Weber represent an "advance" to a position of corporate liberalism, and enlarge the arena in which a struggle for civil rights can be waged.

None of this proof was in the Record on Appeal, but appeared in the briefs of amici, particularly the excellent brief of the NAACP Inc. Fund. This little footnote, ignored by most press reports, is crucial to the holding, and reminds one of the famous footnote in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, so criticized for the utilization of "sociological" sources.

The opinion relies on an extensive review of the legislative history of Title VII, and concludes that: "It would be ironic indeed if a law triggered by a Nation's concern over centuries of racial injustice...constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private race-conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy."

The use of legislative history and judicial notice, and reliance on the advanced thinking of sociology, is essential to the operation of an informed conscience, corporate or judicial, if the judiciary is to serve the society over which it stands as final arbiter in law.

Laurence R. Sperber is a member of the New York and California Bar, and Bar of the U.S. Supreme Court.



- 25 Scottish chemist
- 26 Schmeling
- 27 Cleopatra's killer
- 29 Wrestler's surface
- 30 Water at minus Celsius
- 31 Less than gross
- 33 Gov. Brown's Buddhism
- 37 Work on a foreign movie
- 39 "\_\_\_\_\_ us go then....": Eliot
- 42 Musical instrument
- 44 Family members
- 45 Dangerous radical!
- 46 Anger
- 47 Strike lightly
- 49 Miguel or Paulo
- 50 Fresh or plane
- 51 Young man
- 53 Bee
- 54 51 Across, in diapers
- 55 Female animal
- 58 Distressed one, sometimes
- 61 "Washington \_\_\_\_\_ here": tourist come-on
- 63 "But \_\_\_\_\_ was out for stars....": Frost's "Come-In"
- 66 Make \_\_\_\_\_ at (flirt)
- 68 Opening world of story
- 69 Et. \_\_\_\_\_
- 70 The Greatest
- 71 GOP presidential hopeful, to friends
- 72 Goat
- 73 Ugandan 1st name
- 74 Cinque org.
- 75 Former name of Tokyo
- 76 Legal thing

## Pun Time

By David Mermelstein

### ACROSS

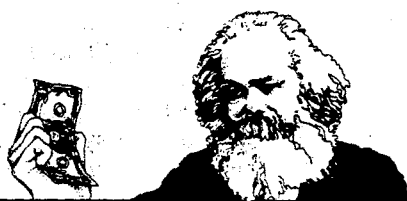
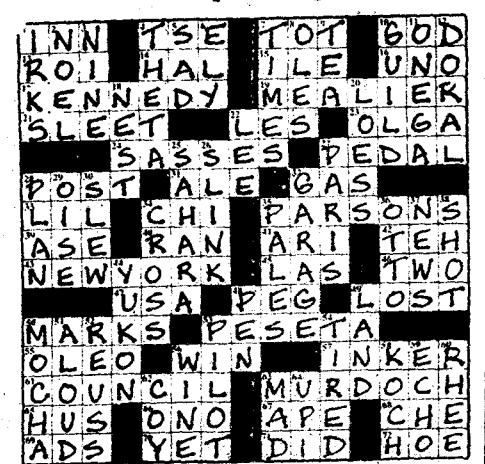
- 1 Shakespeare (with the)
- 5 Type of rug
- 6 NYC is off the \_\_\_\_\_?
- 14 Nautical direction
- 15 Atmosphere
- 16 Between Pisces and Taurus
- 17 What Bradley put on after doffing his Knick uniform?
- 19 Cadences
- 21 Huck's vehicle
- 21 Attack command
- 22 Gr. tycoon, to friends
- 24 Is it \_\_\_\_\_ what they say about Dixie?: '48 campaign song?
- 28 Forever and ever, \_\_\_\_\_?
- 32 GRF: no ifs, ands or \_\_\_\_\_?
- 34 Rub out
- 35 Super serve
- 36 Stallion
- 38 Get rid of
- 40 Noted offensive
- 41 Gist of something
- 43 Corded fabric
- 45 Disencumber
- 48 Fundamental
- 52 Experience

- 56 Needed amendment
- 57 River numph
- 59 Store
- 60 In the radical "hall of fame" (deceased)
- 62 Nut in the White House?
- 64 Suffix for Trotsky
- 65 Common papal name
- 67 Sinister cult figure
- 69 NY State complaint: I can't \_\_\_\_\_ a tune?
- 72 Nancy's song: I wonder who's \_\_\_\_\_ now?
- 77 Run off with
- 78 Unemployed
- 79 Surrender
- 80 Hues
- 81 Do the M for murder
- 82 Part of Marcuse title

- Jan \_\_\_\_\_
- 7 "Sweet \_\_\_\_\_ the uses of adversity...."
- 8 Blade or rights
- 9 Island paradise
- 10 \_\_\_\_\_ Jung
- 11 Be sick
- 12 Encountered
- 13 Curve
- 18 Newt
- 22 Scornful look
- 23 Furrow

- 66 Make \_\_\_\_\_ at (flirt)
- 68 Opening world of story
- 69 Et. \_\_\_\_\_
- 70 The Greatest
- 71 GOP presidential hopeful, to friends
- 72 Goat
- 73 Ugandan 1st name
- 74 Cinque org.
- 75 Former name of Tokyo
- 76 Legal thing

The answer to the previous puzzle:



### 2000 BOOKS FOR A BUCK

Has the local Walgreen's run out of your favorite reading matter? Then browse by mail, courtesy of Modern Times Bookstore. Our brand-new 96-page catalog is the largest collection of non-sectarian Marxist and feminist literature outside of Modern Times itself. Includes gay liberation, Afro-American and labor history, anti-nuclear literature, non-sexist non-racist children's books—and everything else you'd expect. Carefully annotated, coherently organized. All for \$1 (credited to first purchase, of course).

MODERN TIMES  
3800 17th St. — Box A  
San Francisco, CA 94114



# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## PUBLIC HEALTH

# High U.S. death rate for children of poor is no accident

By Jonathan King

*"Everybody talks about murder rates, but the murder rate is nothing compared to the infant mortality rate here."*

East Oakland minister Michael Dunn

**E**AST OAKLAND, WHICH STRADDLES Oakland's industrial strip along the San Francisco Bay, has the worst infant mortality rate in Oakland. The farther from downtown the poorer it becomes and the worse the infant mortality. In the outlying parts of East Oakland the infant mortality rate is 26.3 per 1,000 live births—one of the highest in the country. (Infant mortality here means those babies who are stillborn or who die in the first year of life.)

This compares with an infant mortality rate of 13 per 1,000 in Alameda County (in which Oakland lies) and a rate of 3.6 in the Oakland Hills-Piedmont area, which borders on East Oakland.

East Oakland's disturbing statistics are repeated to a greater or lesser degree in urban ghettos and poor rural areas across the country. Central Harlem has an infant mortality rate of 35.9, Bedford-Stuyvesant's in Brooklyn is 26.2, Watts'

tality is the lack of available resources and services in the area, especially health care. There is only one private fee-for-service obstetrician-gynecologist in East Oakland, which has a population of about 150,000. There are several neighborhood clinics in East Oakland that have prenatal care programs. La Clinica de la Raza, which serves East Oakland's Chicano community, can see about 15 women a month, but the program is limited because of funds. The East Oakland Family Health Services Center also recently started a small prenatal care program. These, however, do not nearly meet the need. In addition there are only 1.2 pediatricians for every 10,000 children in East Oakland compared with 34.2 per 10,000 in central Oakland and the hill areas. And the situation is getting worse.

"The general trend in this country is for doctors to go where they can make bucks and the bucks are definitely not in East Oakland," said Harvey Smith of the Alameda Health Consortium, a coalition of the 13 primary care neighborhood clinics in Alameda County.

### Hospital problems.

Hospitals in the area also present barriers to women who need prenatal care



Wendy Zheutlin

ers in the Oakland hills area saw a doctor in the first three months of pregnancy.

In East Oakland the proportion of premature babies is 12.8 percent, more than twice the state average. Over 20 percent of the babies are born to women under 20 years old—a high-risk category—compared with only 1.9 percent in the Oakland Hills-Piedmont district and 16.2 percent statewide. Many more babies are born with a low birth weight (under 5.8 pounds) than in affluent neighborhoods. Low birth weight is perhaps the single most important cause of infant mortality.

### Health Planning.

The state allocated about \$1.5 million for 1979-80 as part of a three year program to combat infant mortality in Oakland. State money has been slow in coming, however, and in light of Proposition 13 it is unclear what will happen to these programs when the state's initial commitment is over. Smith and the community clinics are especially concerned about the attitude of the county government toward funding health care programs. Alameda county has sustained the highest level of layoffs and cutbacks of community programs of any county in California in the wake of Proposition 13.

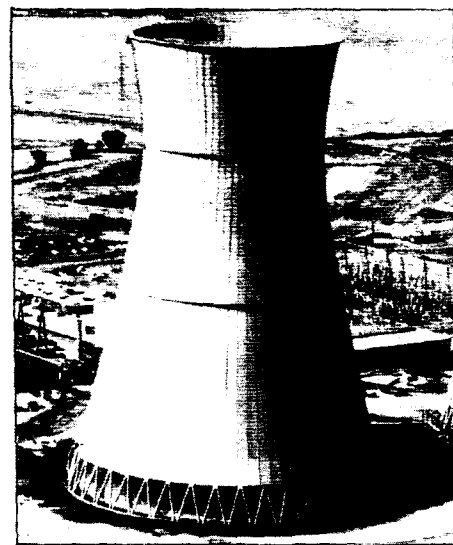
Both Smith and Joel Garcia of La Clinica de la Raza would like to see a system of planning on the county and eventually on the state level. A health planning system could allocate resources and services to the areas where they are most needed. They point out that Oakland is not the only city in California with high infant mortality. East Palo Alto (25.8) and Watts in Los Angeles (22.1) have rates that approach Oakland's.

Good models for preventing high infant mortality exist, both nationally and in Oakland. Between 1970 and 1976 Boston reduced its non-white infant mortality rate from 36.8 per 1,000 to 16.2. It did this partly through a system of 32 neighborhood health centers, each of which are linked to a hospital in the city. Resident doctors from these hospitals spend at least one day a week in the clinics. The hospitals and the clinics also work closely on coordinating medical records and information about the patients. No such coordination exists between the East Oakland clinics and Highland Hospital. Boston City Hospital also has special programs for women considered to be at high risk of having unsuccessful pregnancies.

In East Oakland, La Clinica de la Raza's prenatal program includes pregnancy screening, education, and prenatal and postnatal care, including self-help. They have had over 200 deliveries

and no infant deaths.

As Joel Garcia said, "This is an almost 100 percent preventable problem. The poor do not need to be born to die."



## ENDANGERING SPECIES

Nuclear reactors are an endangering species.

To people.

And to other living things.

Reactors produce cancer-causing wastes whose radioactivity lasts up to 500,000 years. No one knows how to dispose of them. Or where to put them.

Poison this dangerous can't be buried. It can't be dumped into the ocean. And people don't want waste storage facilities near their homes.

Obviously the problem can't be swept under the rug.

**It's time to turn around and step forward into the solar future.**

Friends of the Earth is working to get us there. We're an active conservation organization that lobbies, litigates and publishes essential information about safe energy. And "the living future."

We need your help to get the word out. Send us the coupon below and Friends of the Earth will tell you how your membership or tax deductible donations to our separate foundation can promote clean energy alternatives. For all of us.

The solar future begins today, with your help.

### Friends of the Earth

124 Spear Street  
San Francisco, CA 94105

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## Infant mortality is nearly 100 percent preventable, but the money goes elsewhere.

is 22.1, and the state of Alabama's (which has a large, poor rural population) is 21.6. The causes of infant mortality in these places are frighteningly similar to those in Oakland.

The result is that the United States had an infant mortality rate of 15.1 in 1977. This ranks far behind several of the world's industrialized countries, including Sweden, which has an infant mortality rate of 8.3.

Infant mortality in this country most commonly affects minorities. For example, Washington D.C.'s non-white population had an infant mortality rate of 29.0 in 1977, while the white population of Washington had the lowest infant mortality of all major urban areas in the U.S. As in Washington, Oakland's high infant mortality primarily affects blacks and Chicanos. East Oakland and North Oakland (23.7) which have the two highest infant mortality rates in the city, are both more than 70 percent black.

### Poor people's deaths.

East Oakland's high infant mortality rate is a reflection of the area's other major problems. East Oakland has the highest unemployment rate in Northern California. The number of people living below the poverty level in East Oakland is twice as great as any other part of the city. It also has one of the highest crime rates in the country.

"What we're really talking about in this country are social advantages, educational differences, employment differences," said Dr. Josette Moudonaro, co-director of the state's Oakland Perinatal Health Project.

The most direct cause of infant mor-

and delivery services. Private hospitals near East Oakland are often reluctant to admit poor people and patients in high risk categories. "Private hospitals would rather see these patients dumped over at Highland hospital (the county hospital)," Smith said.

Highland will accept patients that private hospitals reject, including mothers considered to be at high risk of having an unsuccessful pregnancy, such as drug addicts or teenage mothers. However, women in East Oakland are not using the hospital for obstetrical care. The number of deliveries at Highland has dropped from 2,000 to 500 in the past ten years.

Some obstetricians at Highland explain the problem of declining patient use as one that is common to public hospitals. Other doctors cite Oakland's declining population and birth rate. Medical staff of the community clinics, however, say that they avoid referring patients to Highland's OB-GYN unit because of the low quality of its care and its insensitivity to the predominantly minority population of East Oakland.

The lack of services contributes to a lack of information. The result is that 30.3 percent of the women in East Oakland do not receive care in the first three months (trimester) of pregnancy. A startling 61.6 percent of the women delivering babies at Highland received no care in the first trimester and 29 percent had no care in the first six months. (Medi-Cal may play a role in this. A doctor receives the same amount of money from Medi-Cal no matter how many times he or she sees a patient.) In contrast more than 90 percent of the moth-



By Ruth McCormick

Several years ago, when director Werner Herzog announced at the Cannes Film Festival that German cinema was a force to be reckoned with, he was greeted with peals of laughter—mostly from other Germans. Since then, the work of what has been termed the “New German Cinema” (NGC) has become known around the world, and is regularly displayed at film festivals, museums, universities and “art” theatres. Kluge, Straub, Herzog, Schlöndorff, Fassbinder, Wenders, Hauff and Syberberg are names that are known and respected by thousands of filmgoers, and even more interesting directors

are being heard from each year, like Geissendorfer, Lilienthal, Böhm, Schroeter, Sander, Ziewer, Peterson, von Trotta, Brustellin and Sinkel.

The New German Cinema, fostered with taxpayers' money, is built over the wreckage of the old, pre-World War II industry. In the “Golden Age” of German films, the 1920s, Lang, Murnau, Lubitsch, Leni, Pabst and others made their reputations. With the rise of Hitler, an exodus of creative talent resulted in a cultural wasteland. The best German directors elected to remain abroad, and the reconstruction of German cinema was not considered an economic priority.

The shrunken German film industry, which still employed

*Continued on page 21.*

## Knife in the Head



Bruno Ganz

By Theo Blomquist

Bertolt Hoffman is a respected bio-geneticist and accomplished violinist with no known political activities. Something—an impasse in his research, his shattered marriage?—has driven him to despondency and the brink of suicide.

Hoffman runs off to see his estranged wife Anne, but the youth center where she works is undergoing another police raid. In his anguish he ignores the authorities and barges into the place. He is dropped by a police bullet in the head. The wound sends him into near total paralysis and costs him memory and speech. *Knife in the Head* is about Hoffman's climb out of this darkness—the reconstruction of an individual in the German Federal Republic.

The omnipresent police paint Hoffman as a dangerous terrorist, claiming that he stabbed the cop before the cop shot him. Extreme leftists want to protect Hoffman against this seemingly fabricated “self-defense” tale of the authorities, and they try to make him a martyr for their cause. One of the key leftist leaders, Volker, is also Anne's lover.

The film is excruciatingly tense. Director Reinhard Hauff has effectively endowed it with an interior violence that saps breath, and Bruno Ganz's portrayal of Hoffmann is intensely powerful.

Hoffman learns to speak and walk again. In his lonely quest, this former research scientist struggles to establish facts that the left and right seem to disdain. Did he really stab the cop? His second infancy enables Hoffman to become the objective observer, something like Werner Herzog's Kaspar Hauser. The police come to arrest him at a country home where he has

taken refuge. “Help! Gangsters!” he cries. Back home with Anne and Volker, he examines a leaflet put out by their group, signed by “The Friends of Hoffmann.” “Who are the Friends of Hoffmann?” he asks.

### Language and meaning.

“The loss of memory and language is a drama for Hoffmann, but it's also his luck,” says screenwriter Peter Schneider. “He has to reconsider all the words, to recover their meaning.”

Born in 1940, Schneider was a leading militant in West Germany's 60s movement. His political activities and articles earned him the official designation of “enemy of the constitution” and barred him from a teaching post. He also tried to carry the permanent revolution to the Bosch factories, but couldn't stir up much interest in student theories there. Today, after several successful books, he is able to live wholly off his pen.

*Knife in the Head* is another installment in the Schneider reflection/rethinking process that he inaugurated with his novel *Lenz* in 1973. Like another European novelist/screenwriter, Jorge Semprun, Schneider has a Gramscian belief in the revolutionary value of truth.

“For me, like for many German intellectuals of my generation, the search for truths and motivations for action has become a more personal, even solitary quest,” he said recently. “We no longer believe that our personal or political identity can be found by referring to Ho Chi Minh, to Mao, or to any other hero of the revolution. Even less so in view of the drama being played out in Asia today we have to invent...”

*Knife in the Head* depicts a monstrously sophisticated West German police force. Hauff claims that his film could never have been made had not funds for it been secured before the Schleier assassination in fall 1977. Still, with its critical characterization of the leftists involved, the film might simply seem to be clashing a couple of fatuities.

But this film's point is not so easily boxed. Peter Schneider says, “A film cannot be reduced to a political thesis. If I had only wanted to do that, I would have written an article.”

It all comes down to Hoffmann, the impotent bourgeois who toys with suicide until a macabre incident forces him to struggle for life and truth. Like many young Germans today, Hoffman's hope lies in a personal search and the will to resist being used and homogenized. He has to invent...

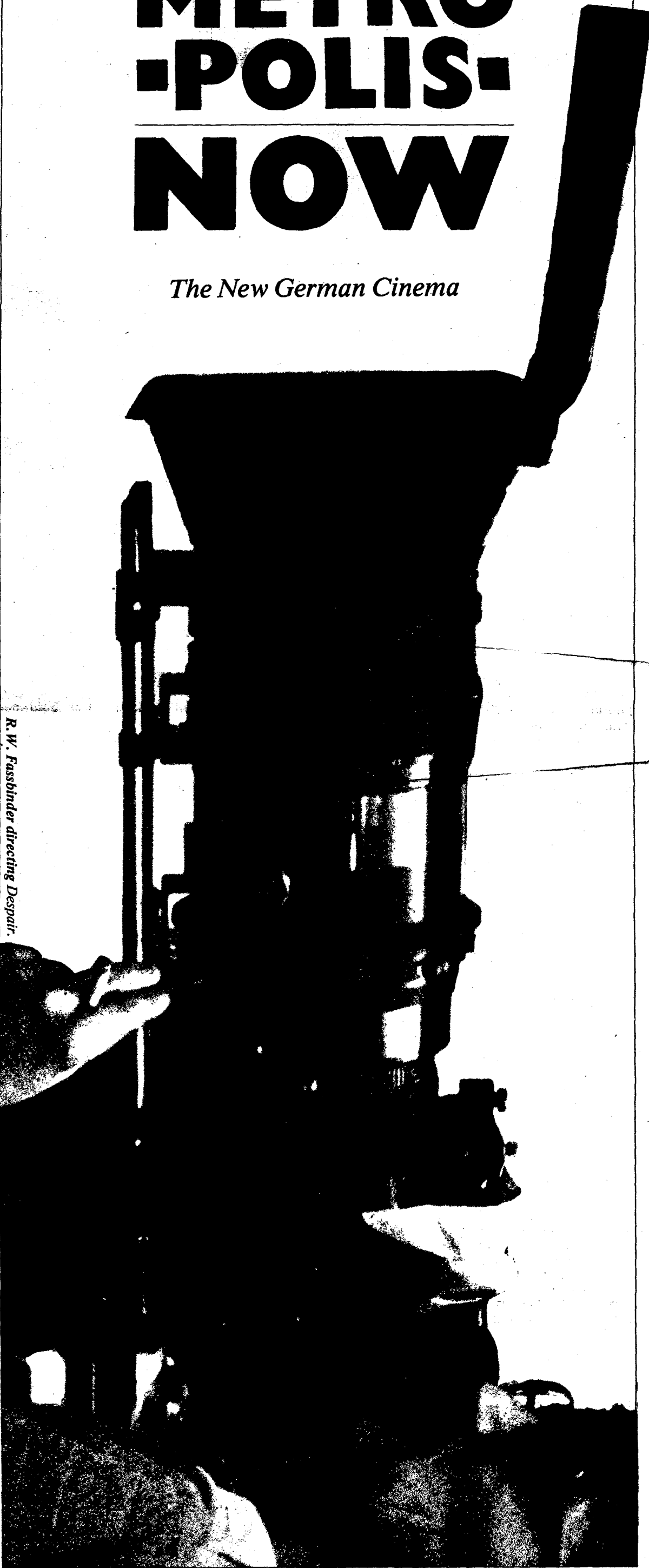
*Knife in the Head* is distributed in the U.S. by New Yorker films, 16 W. 61st St., NYC 10023.

ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

# METRO-POLIS-NOW

The New German Cinema

R. W. Fassbinder directing *Despair*.





Continued from page 20.

many of the second-rate personnel who had worked during the Nazi era, produced sentimental melodramas and comedies, Bavarian mountain musicals, and fluffy, nostalgic period pieces. Even in Germany, they could not compete with expensively-made, star-studded Hollywood productions, and most of the "new" German directors will admit that their first important encounters with film were with American pictures. By the early 60s, the industry was dead.

A new generation, born in the 1930s and 40s, had grown up with little prospect of seeing their desire to make films a reality. In 1962, a group of 26 filmmakers and writers, including Alexander Kluge, Edgar Reitz and Peter Schönböck, issued a Manifesto at the Festival of Short Films at Oberhausen. They announced the birth of a new German cinema, free from the vested interests of the industry establishment.

The signers and their supporters brought about, through tireless lobbying, the 1968 formation of the government Kulturstiftung für Deutsche Film, to fund film projects. In 1967, a Film Subsidies Board was established, supposedly to provide funds for independent productions.

Money was tight, and it was rare for a film to cost more than \$150,000, an undeniably small sum for a feature film in this country. Distributors were not easy to find for productions that seemed to have little chance of competing with mass-market films. Also, most of the NGC directors are leftist, which makes them no friends in certain government, and most financial, quarters.

In recent years, the regional German TV networks, which often present "cultural" programs, have partially or completely financed many NGC films, including those of Herzog, Wenders, Fassbinder and Syberberg.

In 1971, a group of directors founded the *Filmlager der Autoren*, a distribution company that handles the work of many of the more established and newer German filmmakers. Production of the films is independent, but distribution is collective.

#### New German filmmakers.

Alexander Kluge, generally considered to be the "father" of New German Cinema, was a lawyer and writer before becoming a filmmaker, and is still a major theoretician of art and politics. His films, including *Part Time Work of a Domestic Slave*, owe a great deal to Brecht and Godard in form and content.

Volker Schlöndorff, best-known in this country for his adaptation of Heinrich Böll's *The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum* (one of the few NGC films to achieve high box office ratings in Germany), makes no secret of his desire to reach a mass market. Unlike many leftist filmmakers, he prefers conventional narrative and highly polished, even "Hollywoodian" techniques, for what he admits are social ends. His wife, with whom he often works, is actress and scriptwriter Margarethe Von Trotta, who has just directed her own film (see review, page 20).

At the other end of the stylistic spectrum are Jean-Marie Straus and his wife and collaborator, Danielle Huillet. The Straubs left France to work in Germany in protest against the Algerian situation, and have

since left Germany because of what they feel is the endemic censorship of the film financing system there. Their films all bear witness to the view that the form of committed art must be as radical as its content.

The best-known of the NGC directors are, of course, Werner Herzog, Rainer Werner Fassbinder and Wim Wenders. Herzog's search for a new film language in *Aguirre, Fata Morgana* and *Heart of Glass*, among others) has taken him around the world, and his emphasis on the extremes of the human condition and the relation of humanity to the rest of nature has endeared him as much to devotees of Carlos Castaneda as to champions of "Marx, Mao and Marcuse." He is a modern-day romantic, fully aware of the contradictions of bourgeois society, but insisting that we must learn to

dream and to "see" the world in broader terms in order to survive.

R.W. Fassbinder is perhaps the most famous and certainly the most prolific of the German directors. His "repertory company" includes many of the finest actors and technicians working in Germany today. Like Kluge and Straub, he was highly influenced by Godard, and he subverts traditional genres into studies of human relations in modern industrial society. He shows people internalizing the prevailing ideology unconsciously, and proceeding, despite their efforts to liberate themselves, to self-annihilation. Versatile and unpredictable, his films, from *Katzelmacher* to *Despair* and *The Marriage of Maria Braun*, reflect everyday life through a Freudian-Marxist mirror in which the enemy is ourselves.

Wim Wenders is a consum-

her need for others, her discovery that she cannot act without others," says von Trotta, who believes that the West German political situation provokes people who want to do something into desperate forms of "individual action."

Christa and Werner take their loot to a Protestant pastor, hoping he will deliver it to the nursery. He refuses, but is taken with Christa's spontaneity and passionate devotion to her cause. The pastor is a lonely, faithful keeper of a spiritual tradition that has fallen on hard times in crass modern Germany. He helps her escape. His mixture of disapproval and sympathy recalls the attitude of a handful of Protestant clergy (including Gudrun Ensslin's father) toward the "Baader-Meinhof gang."

Christa's subjectivity is the source of her strength and of her weakness. Her bold act doesn't work: there is no way to get the money to the nursery, with police watching. Christa follows her feelings into a revolt relatively uninhibited by the "rules" instilled by male socialization. Excluded from that apprenticeship in "social responsibility," women can reject it when guided by emotional values they have learned to respect more. But women's socialization can also carry the handicap of drastic impracticality.

Christa finds temporary refuge with her old school friend Ingrid, married to an army officer who has her stay home and keep house while he goes out hunting bats. Alone among the stuffed bats, Ingrid is so miserable that Christa's life, even at its lowest point, inspires in her the "first awakening." She escapes from her husband to a collective farm in Portugal where Christa is hiding.

There the men strip the cork trees of the big, valuable sections of bark, while the women bend over all day picking up little scraps; their difference in value corresponds to this economic function. Moreover, the free, affectionate relationship between Ingrid and Christa is considered scandalous, and they are asked to leave.

Christa, who was always confident of her ability to help others, begins to doubt. She wonders whether they would have committed the robbery if she and Werner had "loved each other enough." Did her alienation from the man's world lead her into playing cops and robbers with the boys?

#### Filmmaker's rebellion.

Margarethe von Trotta's cinema rebellion began in 1972 with *Summer Lightning*, in which she played a young wife who rebels

against marriage and tries to make it on her own until, blocked by the usual obstacles, she takes refuge in a second marriage with a nicer husband. Her scenario for *The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum* presented an ordinary young woman pushed into violent revolt when her lonely private world was brutally invaded by the combined forces of West German repression, police and press.

Von Trotta also wrote the scenario for *Coup de Grace*, a somber masterpiece in which she acted the part of a Baltic noblewoman with advanced ideas, whose militaristic family milieu is so misogynist she joins a doomed revolutionary guerrilla band to assert her own dignity. That heroine is an outcast whose revolt leads to lonely tragedy. She is alone in

their forefathers. But funding is still difficult to come by, and there is always the danger that a more conservative government might cut off existing monies, especially to the more controversial directors. These problems are dealt with in two recent films. Hellmuth Costard's *The Little Godard*, shot in super-8, is a testimony of the director's own difficulties in getting funds, as an unknown and experimental filmmaker (and on the great Godard's own problems trying to make a deal with German TV). *Germany in Autumn*, (reviewed in ITT, Feb. 7-13), a collective effort by NGC filmmakers, chronicles anxiety of progressive artists and the German left in the aftermath of the Schleyer assassination and alleged suicides of three members of the Baader-Meinhof group in prison.

a man's world; the man she loves is in love with her brother. Her demand for human dignity is invisible not only to the male characters in the film, but it also was to most male reviewers, who could see no poignant drama but that of the homosexual lover, even though in the end he shot the woman through the head and walked away.

The heroine of *Second Awakening*, on the other hand, moves in a world where she can find friends. It is a hopeful film. Christa's misdirected outburst was not a complete loss, since the authenticity of her feelings impressed a few people and contributed to their awakening—and to hers.

*Christa Klages* is available from New Line Cinema, 853 Broadway, NYC.

## The Second Awakening of Christa Klages



Margarethe von Trotta

By Diana Johnstone

In West Germany, a woman robbed a bank, trying to save her day nursery. Margarethe von Trotta took the incident as the starting point of her new film, *The Second Awakening of Christa Klages*, in which Christa needs money to keep her free school from being evicted for a profitable sex shop. Her motivations come right out of contemporary West German society, where commercial sex flourishes, while non-authoritarian kindergartens are second only to environmental protection among causes neglected by the system and taken up by private citizens' groups in West Germany in the 1970s.

Von Trotta and co-scriptwriter Luisa Francia investigated the growing number of armed robberies committed by West German women and found that in most cases, the women stole the money for somebody else. Torn between heavy social restraints on the one hand, and the demands of the frequently generous goals they have set for themselves on the other, women often rebel in passionate outbursts, according to von Trotta and Francia. Such an outburst is the starting point of *Second Awakening*.

#### Dangerous spontaneity.

As played by Tina Engel, Christa is warm, direct and motherly, impulsively helpful. She was once married, "like most women before they catch on," she explains, probably alluding to a "first awakening." She has an affectionate relationship with her little girl and a more troubled, but free, relationship with her young lover, Werner, who took part in the bank robbery and flees with her.

"One of Christa's decisive experiences during her flight is

## DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 Grace St.  
Great Neck, N.Y. 10021  
212-895-7005/516-466-4642

## Institute for Democratic Socialism Youth Conference

Thursday Evening, August 23 through  
Monday Afternoon, August 27  
SNPJ Camp, Enon Valley, Pa.  
(West of Pittsburgh)

- Join Michael Harrington, I.F. Stone\* Sara Evans, Millie Jeffrey and other leading activists
- Discuss socialist strategy and movement building on and off the campus
- Workshops on socialist theory, labor movement, anti-nuke and anti-apartheid organizing, socialist/feminism and others.

\*tentative

REGISTER NOW! Send \$10 reservation or full cost (\$65, includes all meals and housing). Car pools & limited scholarships available.

To register (and for more information) write:  
INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM  
853 Broadway, Room 617 / New York, N.Y. 10003  
Phone: (212) 260-3270



## SEXUALITY

## Gays may have more fun

## HOMOSEXUALITY IN PERSPECTIVE

By William Masters and Virginia Johnson  
Little, Brown and Company,  
\$17.50.

By Don Long  
and Meg Selig

How much do we know about gay sexuality? Much energy has been expended in the attempt to suppress this ubiquitous minority in our culture. In medieval times, gay men were bound together as faggots to burn in the flames that consumed millions of "witches" (often lesbian practitioners of goddess religions). More recently, pink triangles on sleeves designated the gay people sent to Hitler's ovens. Today's news heralds the moralistic hysteria of Anita Bryant and the psychotic outburst of Dan White.

Now, thanks to organized feminist and gay movements, the tide has begun to turn against the centuries of anti-gay myth-making.

*Homosexuality in Perspective* is the most widely noted among several recent books on homosexuality. *Human Sexual Response* and *Human Sexual Inadequacy* have made Masters and Johnson the reigning experts in the field of human sexuality.

There is much to appreciate in the accomplishments of Masters and Johnson. They described the phases of human sexual response in men and women and mapped the physiological events that occur during each

phase. They verified women's ability to experience multiple orgasms, and discovered that the female orgasm, whether produced by manual stimulation or during intercourse, was essentially a result of clitoral stimulation. They developed "rapid-treatment" therapy based on learning explicit sexual information and techniques, rather than on endless years of insight therapy. They have researched sexuality in pregnancy and sexuality in aging. Each finding has shattered powerful cultural myths.

Just as these discoveries changed women's and men's views of female sexuality, so will *Homosexuality in Perspective* contribute to a slow transformation of gays' sexual self-image as well as straight stereotypes of gays. Despite Masters and Johnson's attempts at reversion and "conversion" therapy for gays, their basic research on gay sexual response offers a much-needed contribution to our understanding of gay sexuality.

Masters and Johnson observed 176 homosexually oriented men and women interacting sexually in a laboratory setting and compared their sexual "performance" to a statistically similar heterosexual group and to a group selected from among the original participants of the *Human Sexual Response* study. The subjects were mainly white and well-educated and ranged in age from 21 to 54. The study groups were further divided into "committed" and "assigned" couples. Homosexual couples

were defined as "committed" if they had lived together for one year, heterosexual couples if married. All individuals were sexually "effective," that is,

### Masters and Johnson find that gays function sexually as well as straights.



could respond with orgasm to masturbation, partner manipulation, and fellatio/cunnilingus, and intercourse (if heterosexual). As such, Masters and Johnson caution, they cannot be considered a representative cross-section of men and women in our culture.

No significant differences were found in the ability of gays and straights (whether committed or assigned couples) to function successfully (reach orgasm) in the laboratory situation. The discovery that gays and straights experience the same sexual response patterns may seem so commonplace that one might wonder at the necessity of demonstrating it. But as Masters and Johnson point out, public scorn and oppression of

gays has made any kind of research difficult; indeed "...so little is actually known of the physiologic and psychosexual aspects of homosexuality that it is uncertain just how ignorant we are about the subject."

#### More relaxed.

One of Masters and Johnson's most sensitive perceptions is the high level of verbal and sensual communication between gay couples. "Intrigender empathy" appears to create a situation in which gay couples give one another extensive verbal and non-verbal cues about their sexual desires. They also tend to spend much more time than heterosexuals on non-genital sensual pleasuring prior to focusing on the genitals. When the genitals were approached, gay couples continued their more relaxed style, using teasing techniques that brought their partner through ever-increasing increments of sexual tension.

By contrast, heterosexual couples seemed much less likely to communicate with their partners, in part because of reliance on male direction of the sexual drama. Straight couples also seemed more goal-oriented. These observations place heterosexuality as much in perspective of homosexuality as the other way around, providing evidence that straight people have a lot to learn from gays.

While much in *Homosexuality in Perspective* does further the struggle for gay rights, Masters and Johnson's objectivity breaks down in the area of conversion and reversion therapy for dissatisfied gay women and men. Reversion is for those gays who had previous heterosexual interaction, conversion for those who never experienced heterosexuality.

Masters and Johnson intend to provide an alternative for gay people who are dissatisfied with

their sexual "preference" and who wish to learn or re-learn the rites of heterosexuality. Their altruism is obvious, but faulty. How many dissatisfied straight people would be offered the solution of conversion or reversion to homosexuality? Masters and Johnson admit that there is no program for sex-preference changes for heterosexuals, though they had two requests for such therapy.

Sex therapy should identify sources of oppression external to the individual; otherwise the therapist simply perpetuates the notion that sex-preference is the problem. Ironically, Masters and Johnson found these conversion/reversion clients to be the least cooperative of all.

Also open to question are Masters and Johnson's divergent standards for lesbian and heterosexual women in assessing their sexual "adequacy." A lesbian woman is considered "fully functional" if she can orgasm during masturbation, partner manipulation and cunnilingus. A heterosexual woman has the additional requirement of reaching orgasm during intercourse. If not, she is considered "situationally anorgasmic." By this definition, probably ¾ of American women are "situationally anorgasmic," according to statistics in *The Hite Report*.

Thus, while extolling the empathic and fluid sexuality of gays, Masters and Johnson uphold the very standards of sexual performance that contribute to goal-orientation and cultural role-playing by heterosexuals and to quiet misery in the heterosexual bedroom.

Despite these flaws, Masters and Johnson open the doors to supportive services for gays. The therapy offered by Masters and Johnson for dysfunctional gay people who wish to function more effectively as gays is a giant step forward.

## CLASSIFIED

## PUBLICATIONS

SAVE 10-35% ON ANY BOOK IN PRINT! Write for FREE BROCHURE. ABC, Box 1507/TT1, Kingston, Canada K7L 5C7.

BECOME A WINE EXPERT, in just a few issues of WINE, the most authoritative wine magazine (64 pages with color). Send \$9.00 for a year, or \$1.00 sample issue, to Les Amis Du Vin, 2302 Perkins Place, Silver Spring, MD 20910.

A PERIODICAL RETREAT has periodicals (including back issues) and books on the left, social change, alternative energy, and more. Visit our bookshop (336 1/2 S. State, Ann Arbor, Mich 48104) or write for our free newsletter and catalog. Tel. (313) 663-0215.

COVERTACTION INFORMATION BULLETIN. Phillip Agee and others expose intelligence abuse, uncover covert operations and name names. One year, \$10; institutions \$15. CAIB, P.O. Box 50272, Washington, D.C. 20004.

MARX—POULANTZAS—GRAMSCI: Extensive collection of Critical Theory & political economy titles. Mail orders & charge cards accepted. Free catalog. GREAT EXPECTATIONS BOOKSTORE, 911 Foster St., Evanston, Ill. 60201.

SEND FOR FREE back issues of Radical Teacher to: Box 102 Kendall Sq. P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02142.

## EVENTS

ALL SUMMER! Dialogue on current issues at the White Mountain World Fellowship Center, Conway, New Hampshire 03818. Request brochure. (603) 477-2280.

UNIVERSITY? Sangamon State University offers the opportunity for self-designed degree programs at the B.A. and M.A. levels in the individual Option Program. Courses and other learning resources are available in a variety of areas including: Socialist-Feminism; Anarchy Today, Radical, Social and Political Theory; Marxism; Critical Theory; Community Organizing; Alternative Energy Systems; Institutional Racism; Euro-Communism; Radical Therapy. For more information contact Professor Robert Sipe, Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62708 or call (800)252-8533.

## HELP WANTED

STAFFPEOPLE NEEDED. 2 for administrative/research/outreach work. \$100 wk. net. Plus fundraiser on commission basis. Resume to: Boston Mobilization for Survival, Personnel Committee, 13 Sellers, Cambridge, MA 02139.

NEW YORK area—Volunteers needed for telephone coding and subscription soliciting for In These Times. Paid jobs available for experienced telephone marketers. Call George Carrano, 865-7638 or Jonathan Fisher, 255-7216.

STUDENTS: Sell subs to ITT on campus and keep \$4 per sub. Write or call Pat Vandermeer at ITT, Chicago.

ORGANIZER/DIRECTOR needed for consumer utility organization. Fund raising, media work, public speaking. Salary \$600+/mo plus expenses. Position open Sept. 1. Previous experience helpful. Call (217) 356-0174 or write CICEC, 113 N. Neil, Rm. 325, Champaign, Ill. 61820

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE seeks applicants for three positions in San

Francisco:

—PEACE PROGRAM DEVELOPER COORDINATOR works with four staff to coordinate programs on the Middle East, Disarmament, Southern Africa & Anti-Draft. Salary \$8,000-\$11,000/year and benefits. Application Deadline—August 15, 1979.

—FUND RAISER works to raise funds from individuals and organizations for AFSC work. Salary \$13,000—\$16,000/year. and benefits. Application deadline—August 15, 1979.

—ANTI-DRAFT works to coordinate anti-draft work in the Bay Area. Salary—\$690/month and benefits. Application Deadline—August 15, 1979.

—TO APPLY: Send resumes and background materials only to Yasuko Fujita, AFSC, 2160 Lake St., S.F. Ca. 94121. Women, Third World persons, gay men and lesbians are encouraged to apply.

THE FILM FUND, a national organization that supports the production and distribution of social change films and videotapes, is seeking a full-time staff person for its New York office. Serving as Assistant Director, responsibilities include fundraising, management policy and program development, donor consultation, coordinating events and screenings. Two-year minimum commitment. Salary and benefits negotiable. Send resume (include political/independent film work) to: The Film Fund, 80 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. Close date for application is August 10, 1979.

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, a nation-wide organization of progressive lawyers, legal workers, law students and jailhouse lawyers, seeks full-time staff person for three year minimum commitment as a member of a working collec-

tive in its national office. Duties include: fundraising, administration, and press/public relations work. Good writing skills and organizational experience important. Legal experience not required, interest in legal matters desirable. Salary approximately \$12,500 depending on need and experience. Health insurance included. For an application call (212) 260-1360 or write: National Lawyers Guild, National Office, 853 Broadway, Rm. 1705, New York, N.Y. 10003.

POSITION AVAILABLE—STAFF ORGANIZER, Committee on U.S.-Latin American Relations, anti-imperialist student and community organization. Write: G-17 Anabel Taylor Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853.

COORDINATOR, OTHER POSITIONS AVAILABLE, FOR Big Business Day, a national educational event to expose the effects of corporations on society and examine possible alternatives. Persons should have experience in public interest work, fundraising, publicity, and outreach. Salaries dependent on experience. Contact: Eric Kilburn, Americans Concerned About Corporate Power, 1755 "S" St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. (202) 332-9110.

## ORGANIZATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

## FOR SALE

NO NUKES PARAPHERNALIA. "No Nukes" T-Shirt, \$5.50 (green on beige); rubber-stamp, Frisbee, \$2 each. "Karen Silkwood" T-Shirt, \$6, (white on black). S/M/L/XL, 100% cotton. Buttons, bumperstickers, 50¢ each. Free anti-nuke catalog. Kate Donnelly, P.O. Box 271-IT, New

Vernon, NJ 07976.

FEMINIST INTROSPECTIONS—Signed artist reproductions, priced below \$35.00! Brochure: Send 15¢ stamp to: Polymania, P.O. Box 26121, So. Portland, Me. 04106.

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome.

Tel. (312) 525-3667  
11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days  
**Guild Bookstore**  
1118 W. Armitage  
Chicago, Ill. 60614

## CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

Joe Morris, #147-540, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John L. Wright, #124-730, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

Thomas Eugene Sims, Box PMB #96038, Atlanta, GA 30315.

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

M. Chappell, 150-801, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Duane P. Harris, #138632, Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Sam Burgard, 149-074, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Jessie J. Cowans, 152-294, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

**CLASSIFIED RATES:**  
**35¢ PER WORD PREPAID**

**SEND TO:**  
**1509 N. MILWAUKEE AVE.**  
**CHICAGO, IL 60622**



## FOR HER OWN GOOD

By Barbara Ehrenreich and  
Deirdre English  
Doubleday, \$10.

By Barbara Simon

What was woman to scientists and professionals from, approximately, 1850 to 1960? In *For Her Own Good*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English explain that, to "sexual rationalists," she was an equal and interchangeable partner of man, once released from the home and integrated into the public arena. To the "sexual romanticists," on the other hand, woman was other, the antithesis of competitive economic man. Untouched by marketplace measurements, she was the embodiment of immeasurable love and generosity in her zone of mastery, the home.

*For Her Own Good* traces the interplay between sexual romanticism and sexual rationalism, an interplay that controlled every aspect of woman's existence. The authors identify the displacement of midwives by physicians, the cult of female invalidism among upper and middle class women, and the emergence of Freudian notions of female masochism as inter-related tendencies that followed upon the Old Order's surrender to the intellectuals of the Scientific Revolution and to the entrepreneurs of the Industrial Revolution.

Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English have made a major contribution to our understanding of the forms of force that constituted 19th and 20th century misogyny. And they have made an equally valuable contribution to our understanding of the masks employed—ideological, linguistic, interactional—to disguise these forms of force. The spread of scientism (science viewed as sacred religion); the usurpation by medical, psychiatric, domestic science, and child-raising experts of women's domains of authority; and the labeling of women who question and rebel as abnormal specimens of pathology were key means used to dominate and disregard women.

## Static context.

Unfortunately, the authors' dynamic analysis of the "Woman Question" contrasts sharply with their static views on the expansion of the market, the development of professions, and the evolution of ideology.

A "double movement," Karl Polanyi wrote, transformed the nineteenth century. As the market pushed into every cranny of social life, an anti-expansionist force emerged, "social protectionism," which reduced the scope and degree of the market's insinuation into culture, society, and the economy. Paul Starr in the *Journal of Social History* (June 1977) has applied this "double movement" theory to medicine: "The state has played a much greater role in setting up and running many of the new institutions, explicit profit-making has been less common, and the normal rules of the market (e.g. caveat emptor) have less often been applied."

Starr highlights something that *For Her Own Good* misreads: the countermovement to commercialization. Ehrenreich and English argue that, "When the attempt to heal is detached from personal relationships to become a commodity and a source of wealth itself—then does the business of healing become a male enterprise." So,

## WOMEN

# Varieties of oppression in modern capitalism



## A SOCIETY DISEASE

Dr. Schmerz—Nervous prostration. You need rest.

Mrs. Aiken—Why, I do nothing but rest!

Dr. Schmerz—Well, try some light employment. Watch other people work.

they suggest, medicine is a commodity cut off from personal relationships.

Yet, they also write: "So if science was culture, and culture was really class, then, in the end, it was class that healed.

Or rather it was the combination of upper class and male superiority that gave medicine its essential authority." The doctor, then, treated women with a combination of class and male superiority.

They overestimate the commercialization of medicine, which is a complex of market exchanges mixed with Old Order relationships and legal and moral constraints. The relationship formed between a doctor

and patient—a relationship that is frequently deeply destructive to women—is nonetheless real and personal.

*For Her Own Good* reveals little of the internal struggles in the developing professions. "Bedside manner" advocates fought with technicians. Physicians who combined intuition with observation battled strict empiricists and grand theorists. The American Medical Association undermined the planned, preventive approach of the American Public Health Association. Private practice physicians attempted to block the formation of large medical bureaucracies. As a result, a woman's health care depends as much on her physician's views and his own position as they did on her gender, race and class.

Finally, *For Her Own Good* exaggerates the role of professionals in forming ideology. What professionals say about clients, medicine, and their own behavior, and their ideas about power and authority are mere outgrowths of the very dialectics that Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English so powerfully elucidate—the dialectics of capitalism and sexism. Professionals have, along with the media and advertising, perpetuated and popularized dominant worldviews. They have, however, contributed little to the forming of ruling ideologies.

The above criticisms notwithstanding, *For Her Own Good* is a first-rate addition to leftist analysis of the sources, nature, and interconnected varieties of oppression in capitalist society. With rare grace and insight, the authors throw light on the conditions of women in each class of American society over the past century.

Barbara Simon teaches Sociology at La Salle College, Philadelphia.

## RADIO

## We interrupt this commercial

By Rose K. Goldsen

About a third of radio time goes to commercials and other program-interruptions. On television, where the standard changes according to the time of day, the average is about 22 percent. Stations exceeding these limits face only token penalties—for example, they could be denied the right to show the seal of membership in the Code Authority of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB). The NAB, the broadcasters' own trade association, makes rules governing number, format and kinds of products acceptable for commercials. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) leaves all this up to the broadcasters.

In Washington today the buzzword is deregulation, and the FCC's willingness to go along with the NAB code is often cited as an example of how nicely things work out when the government sticks to a hands-off policy. So everyone was taken by surprise last month when the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department sued the NAB in District Court, charging that its code regulations amount to a conspiracy in restraint of trade. According to this complaint, business competitors have agreed among

themselves to restrict the supply of the commodity they sell—air time—and this violates the Sherman Antitrust Act. One result is that purchasers of television time have been deprived of the price benefits they would enjoy if only the NAB stopped interfering with "free and open competition among television broadcasters."

The Department of Justice's position would increase the supply of commercials available for sale. But far from welcoming this as a bonanza, broadcasters see it as a disaster. "We're going to fight, really fight this thing," said Irwin Krasnow, NAB senior vice president and general counsel; and he added that his organization has retained a Washington law firm, specialists in antitrust matters, to fight the suit all the way to the Supreme Court. The NAB's budget for this is a quarter of a million dollars, and that's just for starters.

This is a case broadcasters can ill afford to lose. Why? A judgment going against them would open the door to potential damage suits by advertisers claiming they've been kept off the air because of an artificially curtailed supply of salable minutes; or they could say that collusion among NAB Code members has forced them to pay artificially sustained prices. Winning an antitrust

damage suit entitles the injured party to treble damages, so potential costs to broadcasters could reach astronomical proportions.

Oh yes—about those lower prices that allegedly would result if there were no limits to the available supply of com-

mercial minutes. During the past decade 60-second commercials have almost vanished, 30-second commercials are the norm, and 10-second commercials are becoming more popular, so the available supply of commercials has at least doubled. Has the price decreased? Quite the contrary—it's up around 300 percent if you count cost per thousand viewers delivered, 400 percent if you count cost per minute. In the Never-Never Land free market economists inhabit, though, nobody seems to notice.

## Guindon



GUINDON 7-17

© 1979 Los Angeles Times Syndicate

"OK, I'm leaving now and the first person who says 'Have a nice day' stops one."





# Display of Power

By Beth Bogart

**Exxon and Comm Ed are putting on a show at your local science museum.**

**A** VISITOR TO THE CHICAGO Museum of Science and industry interested in the current "energy crisis" would find a slick, multi-media exhibit, "Electricity and Our Future."

The Chicago museum's energy exhibit begins with glittering panels warning of increased energy needs amidst dwindling supplies. A three minute film features children on a merry-go-round while a stern voice-over forecasts the country's gloomy future due to dependence on fossil fuels. "There is an answer to this challenge," the narrator says, "an efficient, practical and abundant source of energy: nuclear power."

A dozen shiny displays elaborate upon the movie's themes—that nuclear power is efficient and abundant, environmentally sound, economical and safe. One panel belittles alternative energy's potential.

To make certain the visitor has learned the lesson, a question and answer machine with flashing lights and an illuminated atomic sign offers the chance to "Test Your Energy IQ." The participant can become an "Energy Genius" by "correctly" answering that nuclear plants are "nonpolluting," have caused "no injury to the public," and "generate energy at a lower cost than coal or oil," that "radiation is no problem" and nuclear waste is "limited and storable."

This expansive "objective" exhibit is sponsored by Commonwealth Edison Company, a utility that has made a substantial commitment to nuclear power and has been besieged by adverse publicity over the dangers and expense of its nuclear plants.

Similar paeans to nuclear power, sponsored by energy companies, are seen by millions of visitors to the country's science museums, a six-month investigation by the Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI) has revealed.

Many prominent science museums, according to CSPI's report, display whatever exhibits corporations donate. These industry-sponsored exhibits "can result in glossy, image-building advertisements, at best, and in blatant propaganda masquerading as 'education,' at worst," the White Paper on Science Museums concluded.

Most museums are "supermarkets of corporate logos," and are controlled by boards consisting primarily of business and industry executives.

"In its encompassing and tireless efforts to mold public opinion, American

industry has not forgotten science museums," says CSPI Director Michael Jacobson. His and Learner's investigation revealed that "they [museums] received taxpayers' support, but were not really accountable to taxpayers. We saw that the boards of trustees of museums spanned the range from big industrialist to big banker, and rarely included local environmentalists, blacks, women, hispanics, philosophers and historians of science, and social critics."

## Special messages.

As visitors "stroll down the carnival-like midways in the Boston, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles museums (for example), they are greeted by exhibits presented by the Fortune 500," writes Learner. "The underlying messages of the rhetoric are clear: science and technology are safe and great; technology will solve all problems; corporations are generous and responsible community citizens."

Most important for corporations, these messages are seen by most museum visitors as fact, not advertising. Newspapers, radio and television are understood to reflect biases but science museums convey trust, objectivity, authority and authenticity. In addition, a recent study showed that over half the visitors to science museums are high-school age and under.

Besides learning that nuclear energy is safe, visitors to science museums are told that synthetic chemicals in food are ubiquitous and benign (by Monsanto Chemical Company at Boston's Museum of Science), that General Motors is strongly committed to and successful at reducing air pollution from automobiles (at California's, Detroit's and Chicago's science museums), that the American Iron and Steel Institute is concerned about industrial pollution (at the Chicago museum), and that Atlantic Richfield "tries to be a good corporate citizen," as the brochure at the California Museum of Science and Industry exhibit proclaims.

The California museum justifies the ARCO exhibit. "We're a townhouse forum for those using modern technology," says director Bill McCann. "We supply the forum...Atlantic Richfield can do whatever they want."

The Chicago museum opens its doors to those who wish to advertise their message. The Museum makes space available—at no charge—sufficient space for an appropriate exhibit. The exhibitor pays the costs of designing, constructing

and installing the exhibit. In addition, an annual fee is paid to the Museum to cover out-of-pocket costs such as maintenance, utilities, guides, and other services to the exhibit. The agreements normally run for a minimum of five years.

"The cost of a professionally designed exhibit—\$100,000 to over \$2 million," Learner points out, precludes sponsorship by all but the wealthiest of corporations, individuals and non-profit organizations. In addition, the tax structure offers a preference for corporate industry by subsidizing almost half its costs. Conversely, the relative cost of an exhibit to a non-profit organization, which cannot deduct its expenditures, is almost double."

Why are science museums so eager to forget their responsibility for credibility and to pander to the proffered corporate wallet?

Private industry funding is seen by many museums as a panacea for pinched museum budgets; public tax funds usually only pay operating expenses, if that. Money for exhibits is hard to come by as federal funds are limited and wealthy private donors tend to contribute to art rather than science museums.

Funding shortages, however, are not the only explanation for one-sided exhibits. The science museum's institutional philosophy, as formulated by the director and governing board, plays a critical role in determining whether the museum will be a public science education resource center or a warehouse of glossy commercial advertising.

## Trusting trustees.

The museum director is often more concerned about not alienating the trustees than about raising provocative questions. And the boards of trustees are drawn from a narrow spectrum of social, economic and political perspectives. In particular, the leadership of governing boards contains a disproportionate representation of persons connected with the nuclear power industry.

Even the Smithsonian Institution, the federally-funded national museum, is controlled by a board of eight federal officials and nine "citizens" who turn out to be directors of such corporations as Coca-Cola, CBS, IBM, DuPont, General Motors and Kerr-McGee. Perhaps because of this board, which the museum's assistant secretary for science, David Challinor, admits reads "like the Fortune 500," the Smithsonian avoids controversial exhibits. One of the only science museums with dependable funding, corps of staff scholars and limitless institutional resources, the Smithsonian is often called "America's dusty attic" and is rated a "disappointment" by Learner.

A few science museums have balanced exhibits that confront some of the pressing challenges faced by our society and have aggressively sought outside funding, Learner found. The Ontario Science Center, in particular, confronts vital energy, health and environmental issues. The Franklin Institute in Pennsylvania and the Science Museum of Minnesota also were praised for their exhibits.

The White Paper makes ten recommendations for reforming science and technology museums. These include taking greater curatorial control over exhibit content, rejecting prominently displayed corporate logos and names, encouraging companies to give general donations rather than sponsoring specific exhibits and adding representatives of local citizens' groups to museum boards of directors.

"Science museums are valuable community resources," Jacobson says. "We hope this report will further stimulate this awakening of conscience and responsibility among those who direct and fund science museums..., and encourage citizens to reexamine and get involved in reforming their local science museums."

*The White Paper on Science Museums is available for \$4 from CSPI, 1755 S St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.*